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Administrative Detentions, Deportations to be Used

Cabinet Adopts Tough Policy Against Palestinians

The Israeli cabinet decided August 4, on a "get tough" policy in the occupied territories including the reinstatement of administrative detentions without trial and increased deportations without trial.

While the cabinet vote on these measures was unanimous, the proposal to institute the death penalty sparked heated debate which ended inconclusively. The cabinet decided not to change the laws on capital punishment for the time being but rather to refer the issue to a ministerial committee for further consideration. The cabinet also decided to expand detention facilities in the occupied territories, to close down Arab newspapers that allegedly violate censorship, and to close down Palestinian intitutions that are suspected of encouraging Palestinian nationalism.

The new policy was immediately enforced in various ways. Five Palestinians were placed under administrative detention, one Palestinian resident was arrested and ordered deported, eleven freed prisoners received deportation orders, Najah University was closed for two months and *Al Shu'ab* Arabic daily was closed for three days (see separate stories).

The administrative detention measure, which was dropped in 1979, is based on the 1945 British Emergency Regulations and allows the military authorities to place any resident of the occupied territories in jail on "security grounds" without charges and without trail for an unlimited period of time. Administrative detentions have to be approved by a judge every six months.

The cabinet decided not to change existing procedures for deportations, but rather to step up their use. "Persons constituting a security risk" would be deported, the cabinet said, but did not elaborate on the definition of the term. Persons slated for deportation also have no right to a trial, but they can

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Khalil Abu Zayyad to Be Deported

In line with the punitive measures adopted by the Israeli government last week, the Israeli military authorities issued a deportation order August 8 against ex-political prisoner Khalil Abu Zayyad of Azariyeh. Abu Zayyad was arrested and charged with political activity on behalf of the PLO.

Khalil Abu Zayyad

The order was issued by the military commander of the Israeli army in the Central Region (the West Bank area), Amnon Shahak. He alleged that Abu Zayyad was a "senior leader in the Fatah movement." The order gave Abu Zayyad 48 hours to appeal the decision to an advisory committee headed by a senior military judge before he is actually deported.

Family sources said that two Israeli military vehicles pulled up in front of Abu Zayyad's home on the main Jerusalem-Jericho highway in Azariyeh at 2:00 am. Soldiers besieged the house. Some led by military officers and members of the Israeli General Security Services (GSS) broke into the ground-floor apartment and ordered the ex-prisoner to accompany them to jail.

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Arab Councils Strike in Protest of Budgets Deficits

Representatives and employees of 29 local councils in the Galilee and Triangle held a demonstration in front of the Israeli prime minister's office in West Jerusalem August 4 to protest the Israeli Interior Ministry's failure to provide promised funds to help them out of their financial difficulties. They are also demanding budgets equal to Jewish local councils. The 43 Arab local councils are suffering from an accumulated deficit of nearly US10 million dollars, and some local councils have not been able to pay their employees for three months.

Arab local councils in the Galilee also shut down their offices August 1 as the first step in their protest against discrimination.

The peaceful demonstration convened during the Israeli cabinet's regular weekly meeting. Arab local council heads, their deputies, council members and employees stood holding placards that spelled out their grievances. One placard read: "Down with policy of national discrimination." Another placard displayed by employees of the Um al-Fahm local council, who have not been paid for three months, threatened that "the next protest step would be hunger strike." The demonstrators also chanted slogans denouncing the government's policy of discrimination.

A delegation representing the striking councils consisting of Shafa Amr mayor and head of the Regional Committee of Arab Local Councils Ibrahim Nimr Hussein, Nazareth Mayor Tawfiq Zayyad, and al-Tireh local council head Tariq Abd al-Hai, tried to meet Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres. Their request to meet the premier was turned down on the pretext that Peres was busy with the cabinet meeting and that he could not meet the strikers. Instead, they were promised that a meeting between representatives of Arab local councils and Peres would be set up within the week.

Hussein spoke to the demonstrators before they dispersed, pledging to continue protest activities until all goals are achieved.

Hashem Mahamid, mayor of Um al-Fahm, told *Al Fajr* he is sceptical about the possibility of meeting the Israeli prime minister. "I think they were just trying to send us away and that they never listened to us, or wanted to hear our demands," he said.

The Arab local councils are planning to follow up on their protest activities, and to escalate them if the Israeli Interior Ministry does not give urgent assistance to them. Another extraordinary meeting for the Regional Committee is planned for next Saturday, August 10, in Um al-Fahm. The Regional Committee of Arab Local Councils was also invited to attend a

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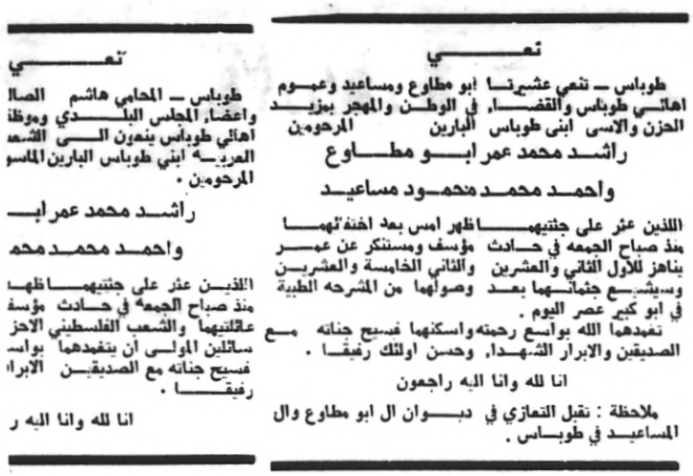

تعـــــي

طوباس ـ تنعي عشيرتنا ابو مطاوع ومساعيد وعموم اهالي طوباس والقضاء في الوطن والمهجر بزيد الحزن والاسى ابنى طوباس البارين المرحومين

راشد محمد عمر ابو مطاوع

واحمد محمد محمود مساعيد

اللذين عثر على جثتيهما ظاهر امس بعد اخذتهما منذ صباح الجمعه في حادث مؤسف ومستنكر عن عمر يناهز للاول الثاني والعشرين والثاني الخامسة والعشرين وسيشيع جثمانيهما بعد وصولها من المشرحه الطبية في ابو كبير عصر اليوم .

تغمدهما الله بواسع رحمته واسكنهما فسيح جناته مع الصديقين والابرار الشهداء وحسن اولئك رفيقا .

انا لله وانا اليه راجعون

ملاحظة : تقبل التعازي في ديوان ال ابو مطاوع وال المساعيد في طوباس .

تعـــــي

طوباس ـ المحامي هاشم الصا واعضاء المجلس البلـــدي وموظ اهالي طوباس ينعون الـى الشعب العربـه ابني طوباس البارين المأسو المرحومين .

راشـد محمد عمر ابـــ

واحمـد محمـد محم

الذيـن عثر على جثتيهمـــا ظهـ منذ صباح الجمعه في حـادث مؤسفـ عائلتيهما والشعب الفلسطيني الاحز ساثلين المولـى ان يتغمدهما بواسـ فسيح جناته مع الصديقيـن الابرا رفيقـــا .

انا لله وانا اليه ر

The ads which led the censor to close down *Al Sha'ab* Arabic daily for 3 days. Both are notices mourning the mysterious deaths of two Toubas youths whose car apparently exploded. One notice is from the mayor of Toubas, the other from the two youths' families.

Censor Closes Al Sha'ab Daily For 3 Days

The Israeli military censor ordered the Palestinian Arabic daily *Al Sha'ab* closed for three days August 1 allegedly for violating orders by the military government against publishing information on two Palestinian youths found dead July 29. The youths were found in a car near the Alon Moreh settlement in the Nablus area. The closure order included the newspaper's print shops as well.

Al Sha'ab published an obituary July 30 for the two dead Palestinians — Rashid Mohammed Omar Abu Mutawe, 26, and Ahmad Mohammed Mahmoud Mussaid, 25, both from the village of Toubas near Nablus. According to the obituary, Mutawe and Mussaid disappeared July 26 and their charred bodies were found four days later. The report did not mention how they died.

A news report published also July 30 in *Al Quds* and *Al Fajr* Arabic dailies on the two bodies said initial police investigation found that both were killed due to an explosion in the rear of the car in which they were riding. The *Agence France Presse* (AFP) reported the incident but did not mention the names of the Palestinian victims. The newspapers received more information from sources in Nablus and published the report without sending it first to the Israeli censor, they said.

According to Mahmoud Ya'ish, *Al Sha'ab*'s publisher, his newspaper sent a story on the incident to the censor who refused the entire report. The newspaper complied with the censor's decision and did not publish the story but did publish the obituaries. The newspaper was then singled out for the closure order while *Al Fajr* and *Al Quds* Arabic dailies received only a harsh warning.

Reason for the military censorship may be due to the fact that the military were investigating the possibility of the two youths being involved in resistance work. The military blacks out information on investigation regarding suspected resistance fighters in order to arrest more people before they go underground. However it is not yet known the exact reason for the death of Mutawe and Mussaid. It is suspected they were kidnapped and murdered by Israelis in a new wave of anti-Arab hatred currently fomenting in Israel.

Ya'ish, the Arab Journalists Association in the occupied territories and local Palestinian newspapers protested the closure order. Ya'ish said he wrote the military censor informing them that his newspaper did not violate the military orders and that it did send the report for censorship. The Arab Journalists Association issued a statement August 2 condemning what it called "this oppressive measure" and considering it to be a "new and serious deterioration in the freedom of press and free expression."

Radwan Abu Ayyash, president of the AJA, told *Al Fajr* the closure of *Al Sha'ab* is the "beginning of a new policy adopted by the Israeli government which meets the demands of the settlers and the fascist right in Israel." Abu Ayyash added that he believes *Al Sha'ab* was chosen as a scapegoat to carry a message of threat to all the Arabic press. Knesset member Mohammed Mi'ari from the Arab-Jewish Progressive List for Peace (PLP), also voiced condemnation of the measure against the Palestinian daily. The International Association of Journalists also condemned the closure order.

Reaction to the closure of *Al Sha'ab* by the Israeli press was indifferent. When *Al Fajr* attempted to get a comment from the president of the Israel Press Association, Alon Yitzhaq, he referred the reporter to his secretary general, Yona Shimshi. Shimshi, when contacted, also refused comment referring *Al Fajr* back to the president. *Shimshi claimed he did not know* all the facts concerning *Al Sha'ab*'s closure and therefore could not make a comment.

Al Sha'ab was closed several times in the past and set on fire more than once. The last time it was closed was in the early 1980s.

Al Sha'ab resumed publication August 5 with a front-page report quoting Israeli soures as saying the closure of the newspaper was part of a new wave of strict Israeli measures against the indigenous Palestinian population and institutions. The Israeli cabinet adopted resolutions in its August 4 session calling for strict measures against any member of the Arabic press which "violates censorship rules." *Al Sha'ab* quoted Police Minister Haim Bar-Lev as saying that the closure of *Al Sha'ab* is an example of government implementation of harsher security measures in the occupied territories.

The Israeli *Davar* newspaper reported August 4 that the military spokesperson never issued a statement on the closure of *Al Sha'ab*. It said all that was published on the incident in the Israeli press came from *Al Sha'ab* employees. *Davar* said the military spokesperson kept all this information from the Israeli press.

Al Fajr Arabic daily and *Al Fajr* English weekly were closed down twice in early 1982, once for ten days and again for one month. They were closed on the pretext of censorship violation. *Al Shira'a* bimonthly magazine was closed down permanently in 1983.

Work Permits Denied to 34 Islamic U. Faculty

Thirty-four faculty and administration members at the Islamic University in Gaza, including its president, Mohammed Siam, were forced to leave the country last week after the Israeli military authorities made renewal of their work and stay permits conditional on university acceptance of military interference in the university's affairs. The university refused to accept the conditions stipulated by the authorities, so that permits were not renewed.

Dr. Ihsan al-Agha, a member of the interim council set up to run university affairs in wake of the forced departures, told *Al Fajr* that the Israeli authorities required the administration to accept three conditions: (1) to acknowledge Egyptian Law number 380 (1955) which authorises the concerned authorities (in this case the Israelis) to supervise university affairs; (2) to abolish the one-year-old nursing college; and (3) to allow the authorities to supervise university finances. "Such conditions might be applicable to a regular school, but not to a university," Al-Agha said.

He explained that law 380 established government supervision over the Muslim Theology College, al-Azhar, which was located in Gaza at the time. He said that an amendment was added to the law in 1961 allowing all religious institutions, including al-Azhar, to run their affairs independently

As for the college of nursing, al-Agha said he sees no reason for the Israeli authorities to demand its closure. "It is the only uncontestedly humanitarian college at Islamic university," he said.

Al-Agha said the deported lecturers represent the backbone of the faculty and the university can't function without them. Out of 40 PhD holders, only 5 were not deported, he said. He predicted that major problems will culminate in September when the school year starts, and that the school will face heavy financial losses because the deported personnel were hired on three-year contracts.

The interim administration and the board of trustees are currently trying to solve the problem through intermediaries, but they have not been successful so far. A delegation contacted Israeli MK Abd al-Wahab Darawsheh (Labour) and the Egyptian *Charge d'affairs* and asked them to intervene and convince the Israelis to allow the deported teachers to return.

Dr. Anton Sansour, head of the Council of Higher Education in the occupied territories, said the council is following up the issue closely. Sansour condemned the Israeli measure saying it deals a severe blow to the academic performance of the university.

The Gaza Islamic University, which is the only four-year college in the Gaza Strip, was established in 1978, after Egypt closed its universities to Palestinian students.

Since its establishment, the university has been repeatedly

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Engineer Tortured in Israeli Lockup

Israeli attorney Lea Tsemel issued a complaint of torture this week to the Israeli military legal adviser and to the head of the General Secret Service (GSS). Tsemel complained of torture practised in May against a Palestinian detainee from the Ramallah district. Tsemel said the detainee is charged with leading a Palestinian underground resistance group that allegedly was responsible for the killing of an Israeli soldier in Ramallah last March.

The detainee in question is engineer Khalid Mahmoud Dalasheh, 31, from al-Bireh. He was arrested May 22.

According to Tsemel, Dalasheh was interrogated and tortured over a long period of time. She said also that Dalasheh did not eat anything for two days following his arrest and got no regular sleep for two weeks.

In her letter she added that the Israeli interrogator at the Moscobiyeh detention centre in Jerusalem put a chair on Dalasheh's chest and legs and sat on it. Dalasheh was then beaten. The complaint letter went on to read that the interrogators repeatedly forced the prisoner to bathe in cold water followed by hot water, after which he was forced to stand in front of a fan or heated oven.

Tsemel said Dalasheh did not confess to the charges levied against him and that he is now being held in solitary confinement. None of his family has been allowed to visit him and his lawyer was only given permission to see him for the first time on July 18, nearly two months after his detention.

Tsemel added that she does not believe her client fabricated his story of torture in order to justify a confession to the charges against him because the prisoner did not confess to anything. She also said she is paying special attention to this case because Dalasheh's interrogators told him that they could pressure the Israeli judges to sentence him according to their request.

Tsemel asked in her letter that a radical and comprehensive inquiry be held in this case. (Translation: HaAretz, August 6).

Ziad Abu Ain leaving military court in Ramallah August 2.

5 Palestinians Put in Administrative Detention

Immediately after the Israeli government approved the revival of administrative detentions and other punitive measures last week, military authorities in the West Bank placed freed prisoner Ziad Abu Ain and four Najah University students in administrative detention. The measure, dropped in 1979, allows the authorities to hold detainees indefinitely without charges, without access to a lawyer, and without trial.

In Hebron prison, the first administrative detainee Ziad Abu Ain, 26, began an open-hunger strike to protest his placement in solitary confinement.

Israel Radio reported in an Arabic news broadcast that Israeli troops arrested four students, Mohammed Abd al-Jalil Isma'el Ramadan from Tal village, near Nablus; Hassan Saleh Ali Ayoub of Askar refugee camp; Abd la-Rahim Abd al-Latif Mohammed al-Ma'ne from Jenin; and Ghassan Said Abu Hassan from Arbouna village near Jenin, August 5 after the Israeli commander of the Central Region, Amnon Shahak, issued them each a six month administrative detention order. The radio quoted an Israeli military spokesperson as saying that the four youths are suspected of belonging to three Palestinian organisations: Fatah, the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP), and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), and that one of them had violated his town arrest order.

Lawyer Felicia Langer, who represents the four youths, told *Al Fajr* she is planning to demand the immediate release of her clients when they appear in the Nablus military court on August 9. A closed military court session is scheduled for that date to review administrative detention orders issued against the four students.

In another closed hearing on August 3, an Israeli military court in Ramallah upheld the administrative detention order issued on July 31 against freed political prisoner Ziad Abu Ain, from al-Bireh, on charges of incitement. Abu Ain spent less than three months at home following his release from prison in the May 20 prisoner-exchange between Israel and the PFLP-GC. Abu Ain was serving a life prison sentence on charges of planting a bomb in Tiberias in which three Israelis were killed and more than thirty others were wounded. His extradition from the United States became a subject of worldwide controversy.

The Jerusalem Post reported August 4 that during the closed court session the Israeli prosecution presented evidence on Abu Ain's alleged involvement in planning to hijack an Israeli bus. The court also provided an opportunity for review by a military judge once every three months.

Abu Ain's attorney, Jonathan Kuttab, declined to comment on the court hearing saying he had been forbidden to breathe a word on the closed hearing.

The Abu Ain family issued a press release August 8 refuting allegations made in the Israeli media that Ziad had "planned to hijack a bus in Gaza." The statement accused the military authorities of leaking what took place in the closed court session. The family protested press allegations saying that they "may endanger his life and justify in the eyes of the public any retaliatory action that may be taken against him."

The family's statement concluded: "We believe that the authorities are pinning a responsibility for certain matters on Ziad Abu Ain, while he has not been properly charged, nor given the opportunity to defend himself in a fair trial. We feel that Ziad has been victimised because of the fact that he became known worldwide following the extradition proceedings in the United States. And we think that he has been made a scapegoat, and is being used as an excuse for the reintroduction of administrative detention.

"If Ziad Abu Ain is guilty as alleged, why has he not been charged and put on trial?"

An Israeli lawyer described the detention of Abu Ain, who was released in the May 20 prisoner swap between Israel and the PFLP-GC, as a violation of the terms of the prisoner-exchange agreement. He explained that the exchange agreement required Israel to give amnesty to all 1150 prisoners who were exchanged for 3 Israeli soldiers. The lawyer stessed that once granted amnesty, a person cannot be legally prosecuted for actions he or she may have committed before the amnesty was granted.

One East Jerusalem lawyer told *Al Fajr* that the Israeli authorities tried to give Abu Ain's administrative detention a legal cover by getting a military court to uphold the Israeli military commander's order. In such cases, however, the court has little choice to uphold the order because it is based on the suspicions that a certain idividual represents a security threat, an argument which is impossible to challenge in court. This is made more difficult by the fact that military court sessions are closed.

Administrative detention as a wide-scale practice was officially suspended in 1979 following harsh criticism from international human rights organisations, including Amnesty International. Before that several dozen Palestinians were held for as many as seven years without trial on any charge. The last administrative detainee, Ali al-Jammal, was released in 1982 following repeated pleas from local and international groups and individuals.

Work Permits

Continued from page 2

harassed by the Israeli authorities. Donations from Arab countries had to be channelled through the Israeli "Development Fund," which deducts a certain percentage for military governorate projects. Education officials charge that fund monies are used for settlement purposes. On many occasions the authorities prevented the university from withdrawing money from Israeli banks to pay their employees.

Flimsy Excuses Cited

Army Closes Najah for 2 Months

Exactly eight months after the reopening of Najah University in Nablus following a four-month closure order by the Israeli military government the institution was again closed. The largest Palestinian university was again ordered shut August 2 for two months.

The closure of the university follows increased demands by Jewish settlers for severe punishment against Palestinians living in the occupied territories. The settler demand is in reprisal for growing attacks on Israeli targets in the West Bank and Gaza.

An Israeli military force raided Najah campus on the afternoon of July 31 and refused to give a reason for their action. Following a search of the deserted campus, the military confiscated posters and pictures of Palestinian leaders, like Yasir Arafat and Ghassan Kanafani, from a bulletin board used in a free speech area for students. Two days later, the military ordered the campus shut for two months citing the material it confiscated was "inciteful." No student or faculty member was present during the raid because the city of Nablus was under round-the-clock curfew since July 30 following the killing of Albert Bukhris, an Israeli from nearby Afula, in the centre of town. The curfew was officially lifted August 4.

Najah University issued a press release August 1 warning that the raid was "connected to Israeli intentions to officially close the university" only two weeks before the semester was due to be completed on August 15. The university's fears became a reality on August 2 when the military governor of Nablus handed Hikmat al-Masri, Chairman of the University's Board of Trustees, an official order closing Najah for two months.

A second press release issued by the university following the closure read: "This Israeli measure against an-Najah University is part of an Israeli campaign of collective punishment against Palestinians in the occupied territories in order to satisfy settler demands to punish Palestinians."

Dr. Sa'eb Erekat, public relations director at Najah, told *Al Fajr* that neither the raid nor the closure can be justified. He said the campus was empty due to the curfew clamped down on the city and therefore there were no student activities on campus. He said the only activity on campus before the curfew was student preparation for student council elections for the new academic year. Therefore, Erekat said, "The only explanation for such a harsh decision is the settler demand."

The university outlined the damage done by the closure as follows:

— The delay of the current semester by two months.

— The delay of graduation for 500 students from September 10 until November 1985.

— Registration for new students, which began last week, will be postponed until the end of November, affecting 900 students.

— Academic seminars and conferences will have to be cancelled.

— Classes will be disrupted and delayed, affecting 2500 students.

In addition to the repeated closures, Najah has not been allowed to continue construction on campus since it was stopped by the military March 15, 1983. Also, 10 university students have been banned from entering campus for a minimum of six months this year.

Israeli interference in academic affairs in the occupied territories has been repeatedly condemned by international organisations, primarily UNESCO. However this condemnation has not thwarted Israel from continuing its harsh measures against the Palestinian universities. Bir Zeit University was closed last May for two months and before that Najah was closed for four months in July of 1984. The closure of Najah was condemned by Britain, the US and Egypt.

Only Israeli soldiers were visible on the campus of Najah University last week. The army closed Najah for 2 months July 31.

12 Freed Prisoners to Be Deported

Laywers Felicia Langer and Lea Tsemel won High Court orders August 8 against the deportation of 12 former Palestinian prisoners freed in the May 20 exchange between Israel and the PFLP-GC.

The Israeli High Court issued another order *nisi* August 6 blocking the deportation of another freed political prisoner, Abd al-Majeed Ghadab from Tulkarm, the third freed political prisoner to receive a deportation order. The first two were Khaled Tantash and Mohammed Tahboub, both Jerusalemites. Ghadab was supposed to be deported August 7. Langer applied on behalf of Yousef Hamid Mahmoud Rafati, from Kufr Ein in the Ramallah district, and Mohammed Mahmoud Hanini from Beit Dajan, in Nablus. Tsemel applied on behalf of 10 other freed prisoners: Walid Mohammad Dahmouri Kisrawi, from Jenin; Salem Ahmad Amer Brouessh, Hebron; Khalid Mahmoud Suleiman Dloul, Nablus; Issa Mohammad Abdallah Shaheen, Bethlehem; Badir Darweesh Mohammed Qawasmeh, Hebron; Mahmoud Abadallah Abd Hamdan, Bethlehem; Juma'a Awad Salem Abu Hamad, Qalqilya; Mohammad Hamdan Hassan Abu Ussbah, Tulkarm; Abd al-Qader Mohammad al-Wahsh, Bethlehem; Ahmad Ibrahim Mustafa Abu Srour, Aida refugee camp.

Langer told *Al Fajr* she got an interim order postponing the deportations until all deliberations in her clients' cases are completed. She also won an order *nisi* that requires the military governor of the West Bank to explain in five days why he will not cancel the deportation orders and why he will not give the two prisoners their identity cards back. Tsemel won a similar order *nisi* for her 10 clients.

The 12 prisoners were among 1150 Palestinians released from Israeli prisons last May 20 in the prisoner-exchange between Israel and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command. Over 600 of the freed prisoners chose to return to their families in the occupied West Bank, Gaza and the Golan Heights.

The Israeli military claimed 31 of the freed prisoners who chose to stay in the occupied territories did not have valid identity papers and therefore should be deported. Langer argued that both her clients were included in the 1967 Israeli census and therefore they are legal residents of the West Bank.

Rafati was in administrative detention during the census but his family registered him and he later received an identity card. Hanini also possessed an ID card when he was arrested in 1969 on charges of membership in a Palestinian organisation, possession of arms and infiltration into the occupied territories. Rafati was arrested in 1974 and sentenced to life in prison on charges of killing a collaborator. Rafati was sentenced to 30 years in prison.

Langer said both her clients were summoned to the military governor's office in Nablus August 6 and told they will be deported August 10. Tsemel's clients also received similar treatment. Tsemel is arguing that her clients should be allowed to stay with their families in the occupied territories and that no country is willing to give them entry visas if they are deported.

Rafati has a wife and four children in Kufr Ein and Hanini's father is still living in Beit Dajan.

Langer commented on the expulsion order saying it is "illegal and arbitrary, and it violates international law as stated in the Geneva Convention of 1945 and the 1948 UN Charter on Human Rights." Langer added that none of the freed prisoners to be deported have broken the law since they were released. She said, "The Israeli authorities have broken their promise to the prisoners that they can stay in the occupied territories after the release and also violated the agreement they signed with the PFLP-GC."

Khalil

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A source from the family told *Al Fajr* that Abu Zayyad is a resident of Jerusalem and holds an Israeli identity card. He has not been treated according to Jerusalem law, they said. The source said that "if Abu Zayyad had broken the law, then he should be taken to a civilian court."

Khalil's elder brother, Zeidan Abu Zayyad, a teacher in al-Ma'mouniyeh school in Jerusalem, said, "Khalil has sacrificed long years of his life to the fight to remain in his country."

The initial military press release drafted two hours after his arrest, attempted to justify this deportation measure by claiming that Abu Zayyad was the leader of a group of "imprisoned terrorists" whose task was to "maintain ties with all the terrorist prisoners in all the bases in Judea-Samaria." In fact, Zayyad heads the Committee for the Defence of Prisoners which coordinates aid to the prisoners and arranges family visits to the prisons. Abu Zayyad's lawyer Amnon Zichroni told an Israel Radio reporter that he expects the case to be a landmark one.

Later Israel Radio broadcasts reported in detail the earlier charges of which he was convicted and jailed for 10 years in November 1970. In 1982, following his 1980 release, Abu Zayyad was placed under town arrest and his movement restricted to Azariyeh. Abu Zayyad was unable to go to his shop in Jerusalem where he was only able to work for two months.

PLP, DFPE Object

Knesset Passes Zionist Law Against Racism

After more than a year of preparation and intra-party haggling, the Israeli Knesset passed an amendment July 30 to Knesset law banning future election lists that advocate racism.

The vote was 66-0 in favour with two Arab-Jewish lists — the Progressive List for Peace (PLP) and the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality (DFPE) — abstaining because of a clause added prohibiting future election lists which negate the existence of Israel as the "state of the Jewish people." The clause was proposed by Israel's Justice Minister Moshe Nissim and other right-wing circles. It is aimed at barring anti-Zionist lists from entering the Knesset.

The clause created a fury within the PLP when the list's spokesperson Kamel Daher presented his resignation in protest of PLP MK Mohammed Mi'ari's abstention. Daher and other Arab members of the PLP wanted Mi'ari to vote against the amendment. Later Daher froze his resignation until the issue could be worked out within the party.

Observers believe that the amendment will allow the Knesset election committee in the future to disqualify lists like the anti-Arab Kach or any anti-Zionist Palestinian list. The disqualification would not be automatic, however, but would merely need the approval of the election committee. In the past the election committee's decision could be overruled by the High Court. In the last election the committee ruled to disqualify both Kach and the PLP, but the High Court reinstated them.

MK Tawfiq Toubi

MK Mohammed Mi'ari, from the PLP, told *Al Fajr* that the PLP objected to the way the law was drafted, and tried to pass an amendment to the law in which Israel is seen as a state for all its citizens. "We also demanded the cancellation of parts of the introduction which said that electoral lists whose explicit or implicit objectives were to undermine the state of Israel would be banned from running for the Knesset," he continued. Mi'ari also said PLP objects to a standing regulation that the Knesset's central elections committee, which consists of major Israeli party representatives, has the power to accept or ban any electoral list. "We proposed that the Israeli High Court should be responsible for making such decisions," Mi'ari said.

Mi'ari said that this new anti-racism law is largely directed at the PLP. "This is an inevitable result of the extreme atmosphere prevailing in the country," he said, adding "If Israel practises this law, it will be exactly like South Africa."

MK Tawfiq Toubi from the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality (DFPE) disagreed with the PLP's assessment of the new law. He said that this law is primarily "in response to the campaign that began with the last elections against the presence of the racist Kach movement in the Knesset." Toubi said the DFPE also abstained from voting because the Knesset turned down the DFPE's petition to cancel a paragraph in the new law which emphasises that "Israel is a Jewish state." Toubi explained however that the first reading of this law included another amendment which bans any "electoral list to be used as a cover for activities to jeopardise the security order." This amendment, which the DFPE succeeded in cancelling during the Knesset discussion could have been used against the PLP and other parties. But the law as it stands now is "basically against racism and Kahane's electoral list," he insisted. The PLP program does not negate the existence of Israel, therefore the law is not directed against it," said Toubi.

Asked about recent attempts to raise the minimum percentage of election votes from 1 percent to 2.5 percent of total voters in the general elections, Toubi admitted that in the Knesset there are indeed attempts at curtailing democratic freedom. In the Knesset there are initiatives aimed at changing the election to raise the limitation percentage. "We hope that this initiative will fail," he said.

Palestinian Heritage Festival Halted

Preparations for the second annual festival on Palestinian heritage in the Triangle village of Tireh were rudely interrupted July 31. The Israeli commissioner of Ramleh, Shrayesh, and a number of Israeli policemen broke into a 10-dunum plot where temporary shelters were being built for the festivities.

Festival workers and volunteers were ordered to stop work on the site on the pretext that no building permits had been granted by Israeli authorities. Landowners Hassan and Yousef Iraqi, were notified that they must obtain such a permit from the concerned Israeli authorities in the Regional Committee of the Zoning Department in Ramleh. Police then photographed the site to prevent any further work.

The Tireh Youth Volunteers who are responsible for the festival began preparations for the September celebration by erecting a wooden fence around the site. They were in the process of erecting a platform and prefabricated walls for a market symbolising the active commercial life in Palestine when Israeli border guards broke into the site for the second time in two days on August 1 and confiscated the identity cards of five volunteers. On the next day, Israeli soldiers tried to arrest Salah Baransi, the director of the Heritage Revival Centre in Taibeh which sponsors the heritage festival.

Baransi vowed to do his best to convene the festival at all costs. He disputed the need for building permits, saying, "We are fixing temporary shacks that will be removed immediately after the festival is over." Baransi said, "Israeli authorities do not like the idea of spreading and maintaining Palestinian culture."

Advocate Said Attili from Tireh, who is also an organiser of the festival, told *Al Fajr* he was preparing a letter of protest to be sent to the legal adviser and comptroller of the Israeli government. The letter stresses the fact that it is not the part of the authority of the Ramleh commission to halt work at the festival site, but rather the authority of the local town committee. The local zoning committee also sent a letter to the effect that it is their responsibility to decide whether the shacks are legal or not.

Attili said the Israeli action was based on the erroneous assumption that the site will be permanent. He criticised the Israeli authorities for putting forth such "arbitrary and unjustified obstacles" as building permits for temporary shelters.

The festival is expected to cost as much as US20,000 dollars. "We signed contracts with carpenters and electricians. We also asked *dabkeh* troupes and singers from various parts of Palestine to participate in the festival," said Attili. The festival's banner reads: "The homeland, the Palestinian cause is above all slogans." The festival site will also house a book exhibit. The last festival convened in 1984 attracted thousands of Palestinians from all over the country.

The Dawn
AL FAJR

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The 'Emergency' Regulations

The Israeli occupation authorities drew heavily on the Emergency Regulations applied by the British mandatory government in Palestine back in 1945 this week. The Israelis have ignored local, Israeli and international criticism of these measures and opted to please Jewish settlers and right-wing Israeli critics instead.

The regulations were used to close a Palestinian theatre, a daily Arabic newspaper and the largest West Bank university, and to throw a number of Palestinians in jail with no charges, no trial, and no access to lawyers for six months.

Jewish activists who were victimised by these regulations under the British mandate before the establishment of the state of Israel vigorously denounced them as inhuman and undemocratic. So did Zionist leaders and Israeli jurists. But soon after Israel was established the same vocal critics turned around and deftly applied the Emergency Regulations against the Palestinian population of Israel and, after 1967, against Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza.

The Emergency Regulations are still used in Israel to place Palestinian activists under town arrest or bar them from leaving the country. Dozens of political activists are so restricted in Israel today.

In the West Bank and Gaza Strip, the Emergency Regulations empower the military authorities to carry out executive, legislative, and judiciary functions simultaneously. Constitutional basics like separation of powers, due process of law, and civil rights are unheard of. The Emergency Regulations give the military leeway to impose curfews, arrest any resident without due process of law, search homes without warrants, destroy family homes of unconvicted suspects and their neighbours, place residents under town arrest for their personal beliefs without specifying reasons, interrogate any resident at whim, impose censorship on all publications, ban books published outside the area, and more.

Emergency Regulations are implicitly laid down in a state of emergency, which presumably has only a limited duration. Surely 40 years is far longer than any justifiable 'emergency' could possibly last.

The time has come to wipe these oppressive orders from all law books permanently. Every citizen of the world who believes in justice and the rule of law must stand up and advocate the immediate cancellation of the 1945 Emergency Regulations, and the end of military occupation which the regulations are intended to expedite.

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Settler Hysteria Opens Pandora's Box

by Baher Ashhab

The so-called Israeli settlers, those participants in the Zionist campaign to reestablish historical *Eretz Israel* without the consent of its current inhabitants, have always taken advantage of an individual act of crime on the part of their apparently archaic enemies, the Arabs, in order to influence the Israeli government and public on the basic question, "Who are the legitimate dwellers of this land?" They promptly jump on the scene after an Arab commits a crime and unleash their infernal venom into this once tranquil neighbourhood. Their method, however unsophisticated, is knavish and has uncorked the suppressed vengeance and hate imprinted upon their collective conscience over 37 years of irresponsible rhetoric on the part of their rulers.

The settlers, themselves programmed puppets in the hands of international Zionism headed by the World Zionist Organisation and the B'nai Brith, will not rest until they fully control the whole area, preferably minus one million Arabs. And they will not relent from blowing particles of vicious hatred into the nostrils of Israeli society and a storm of fear and resentment into the Arabs; only because their Zionist ideology holds that Jewish-Arab coexistence is impossible, and that of the two, the former is superior. And the Arab inhabitants, as unprepared as they were and might still be, have by God's will been placed on the lighter side of the scale. They are defenceless opposite an organised zealotry and they will lose altogether if the civilised world does not interfere in time.

The July 29 slaying of two Israeli teachers in Afula by Arab youths was found by Israeli police to have been committed for non-political motives. Preliminary police investigation even indicates that the killing occurred following a scuffle between the youth and one of the two Israelis after he had threatened the youth with a pistol. The Israeli was shot with a pistol the youth had intended to use for hunting. Nevertheless, the settlers wasted no time and immediately demanded punishment for all Arab inhabitants of the area. Among other things, they demanded mass deportations, closure of universities and charity organisations, and the introduction of the death penalty, an incredibly heavy price to pay for a murder, considering that the settlers themselves have slain 23 Palestinian civilians since 1980 and caused injuries to 191 others, without, for the most part, any reprimand at all.

If these settlers get their way, only the extreme pacifist and the crazed will remain to share with them this "holy" spot on mother earth; the rest will be dispersed to a hundred different "unholy" spots waiting for Salah ed-Din al-Ayoubi to relinquish their twilight empire for them.

Either that or the settlers are simply derelict troublemakers playing the bad guys in the Wild West.

Arab inhabitants, on the other hand, suffer from the side effects of their leaders' strategy to drive the intruders out. While small tactical attacks on occupation personnel and institutions in the territories might have served to attract international attention and dissuade a few "pioneers" from settling on the West Bank, they have also provided an excuse for a lot of armed zealots to terrorise and molest the whole population. The slaying July 30 of an Israeli in Nablus only reinforced settlers' demands. At times it seems these attacks are the only possible defence against those who forced their presence on the West Bank right after the 1967 war, long before a just political solution could be reached and before Israel, the Arabs and the International community even had the chance to discuss that optimistic possibility. It is not irrational, however, to conclude that these settlers went in, or for that matter were sent in, to abort any chance that an independent Palestinian State might be established in the West Bank and Gaza.

The role of the Israeli government as part-time onlooker and part-time energiser in the general hysteria is dangerous and errant. Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres, whose own Labour party masterminded the conquest of the West Bank and blessed the opening of Pandora's box when it built the first Jewish settlement in Hebron in 1968, is only mildly, for public relations, scolding the settlers. He has fallen into their trap, the preliminary results of which are the re-arrest of Ziad Abu Ein, closure of Najah University, and the findings of the "special committee" that investigated ways of "deterring terrorism," a committee that included such staunch settler supporters as Ariel Sharon and Moshe Arens.

Peres' partners in the coalition government, who have proved to be more effective at moulding public opinion than he is, are publicly fuelling the settlers' time-bomb. Led by ex-terrorists and warlords, they have only intensified the tension and indisposition that they feel naturally at home with.

"Responsible democracies" such as Israel should never permit such inciteful tactics by a group in society, let alone participate in them. Or is that their true norm?

Aided from inside the 'green line' by established political movements like Kach, Tehiya and Likud, the settlers have proven to be hard to deter. Their ultimate goal of intensifying Jewish presence in the West Bank at the expense of its Arab inhabitants should not be taken lightly. Those who desire peace in the area should show off their power of persuasion now, before all the bats in Pandora's box manage to fly out. ■

AL FAJR invites our readers to contribute letters, articles and opinions. Contributions must be signed, but names may be withheld upon request.

What Kahanism Really Deserves

by Rabbi Moshe Hirsch

Meir Kahane and his cult are receiving more attention than they deserve. I want to give them what they really deserve. There are many cults which appear on the horizon and eventually fade away, and so also with Kahanism. One does not have to look far to see the reason for his "success". The Zionist population was seeded and exposed to this heretic way of thinking yet before Kahanism sowed the land with its poisonous mentality. By hook and by crook, the Zionists established a confederate state. A confederate state demanded a "defence" army, in order to sanction its confederation. Jewish children are being conscripted into this soldier army. They are orientated to "understand" their purpose in "service."

They are taught, "we have an enemy with whom we are to engage in war. These are our Arab neighbours." After three years of brainwashing, these children are sent home to integrate into the state and live as its citizens. These citizens "know" that their "enemies" are the Arab peoples. How and why they became "enemies" is none of their business. What counts is "the Arabs are our enemies." Comes along a Jewish manipulator and preaches, "Let's get rid of the 'enemy!'" All army discharged and those still serving, automatically become his *hasidim* (followers).

Take this recent example. A Jewish married man and a single young woman "happen" to be in a woods, remote from their place of residence, doing "things". Three local Arab youths, engaged in hunting, intrude. The married man pulls out a gun, as a result of the intrusion, but the hunters were quicker on the draw. The girl alarms and is silenced by the youths. Now, the Kahane cult enters the scene. "Get rid of the enemy. Death to terrorists," they chant. A few days later two Palestinians are murdered, near Nablus. The cult is at work. Since the Zionists have sufficient trouble in coping with their enemy, the Arabs, and are just recovering from the pre-state terrorist, Shamir's arrest, of tens of "Jewish terrorists," they therefore were seeking no further "Jewish terrorist" hunting. The corpses of the Palestinians are exploded, leaving no possibility of tracing evidence to another network of "Jewish terrorists." The East Jerusalem Palestinian newspapers give wide coverage to the murder, but the Zionist media makes no mention of the incident at all, until the following day. A day later a Jew is murdered near Nablus in reprisal. The cult is back at work. "Get rid of the enemy," they chant.

New laws are enacted in the Zionist "Knesset" in order to stem the cycle of lawlessness. One law says, "One cannot become a member of the Zionist confederation which comprises the Knesset, if he is anti-Zionist or undemocratic." It is obvious that this law can only prevent members of the Neturei Karta from becoming theoretical members of the Knesset. The Saviour of the Kahane cult cannot be called "anti-Zionist," since just as heretic Zionism leans upon the Jewish church (religion) to sanction its deeds, so does the Saviour and his cult lean on the Jewish church to sanction their deeds. Self-appointed Saviours can only cause havoc and destruction upon those who join the Salvation-army of the respective cult. "Saviour" Kahane needs the Zionist state in order to preach his platform. A racist and undemocratic effect cannot be exemplified, more than the Zionist government characterises, by ruling an entire people against its will.

A recent news article was the straw that broke the camel's back, and proved without doubt, that the Kahane cult is as Zionist as Theodore Herzl was. Herzl writes in his diary that to solve the "Jewish problem," he would enter all the Jewish youth into St. James Cathedral and have them converted to Christianity. The article reads, "A few score of the Kahane cult demonstrated in front of the Foreign Office in Jerusalem on Sunday, July 28, demanding to bring the remaining Yemenite Jews to the State." The most sadistical tyrant could not have devised a greater torture for devout Jews than what the parents of the more than fifty thousand Yemenite Jews suffered at the hands of the Zionists. These Yemenite youth who were brought to the Holy Land on operation "Magic carpet" were systematically severed from their parents' way of life practised for thousands of years in their native land, inflicting a much deeper pain than any physical wound can cause. Does the Kahane cult wish to bring the remaining G-d fearing Yemenite Jews, who are living in peace and tranquility amongst their non-Jewish neighbours, and pour them into the smelting pot of heretic Zionism? Does the "Rabbi" Saviour of the cult wish to gain political support from the uninitiated at the expense of their Jewishness? Will the cult add to their chanting "Arabs out!" also, the chant "devout Jews out!" since these Jews insist on continuing the age-old Jewish heritage of awaiting the coming of the Messiah.

It is obvious that the Kahane cult is ignoring and defying the Divine Command mentioned in the Talmud "for Jews not to rebel and incite against the nations of the world", and "not to accelerate their redemption" by forcibly ruling the Holy Land against the will of its indigenous residents. Does the cult deny the concept presented in one of the principles of the Jewish faith enumerated by Maimonedes which refers to the advent of the Messiah, in which period the Wisdom of G-d will be made known to all of mankind, and a mutual language will be understood by the nations of the world?

Kahanism preaches to purchase only "blue and white" products and to patronise Jewish stores only. Does this include department stores such as Macy's and John Wanamaker too? A tourist guide — probably a *hasid* of the cult, once introduced me to one of his clients, as one who hates "us". "I hate you?" I asked in amazement. "So why do you side with the Arabs?" he clarified. The client, a Long Island resident, listened with interest. "Do you have non-Jewish neighbours?" I asked him. He answered in the affirmative and added that he enjoys very cordial relations with his neigbours. "If so," I challenged, "why do you expect us to rupture our relations with our Palestinian neighbours?"

During a recent talk I gave to a French missionary group visiting here, the coordinator, who served also as translator, flipped out a Bible and pointed to a passage in Isaiah, which apparently refers to the Christian Saviour. Without glancing at the passage, I informed him, "there are Christian commentaries on the Bible, there are Jewish commentaries on the Bible; even Menachem Begin cites the Bible for his expansionist policies." He got the message and immediately returned the Book to his pocket. Is the cult's citations to give them more longevity than Saviour Begin enjoyed?

In summation, Kahanism is a continuation of a mental state of enmity towards a people whose land the Zionists occupied, absorbed by the citizens of the Zionist establishment, during their army service. The Neturei Karta and the Arab residents of Palestine can never be brainwashed to bear a state of enmity to their Arab neigbours, and therefore can never serve in the Zionist army, who chose an enemy who stands in conflict with Zionist power-hungry scheming. There is no merit in decrying Kahanism, as long as one does not decry Zionism — since Kahanism only serves in putting Zionism to field. And just as Jewish theology prophesises the eclipse of Zionism very soon, so will Kahanism follow its path. Look what happened with Saviour Begin? ■

Letters

In Support of Samiha Khalil

To the Editor,

Two years ago I visited Jerusalem with 10 others from the University of Durham. We visited *In'ash al-Usra* and met Mrs Samiha Khalil. We were enormously impressed by her and the work of the society.

Returning to Jerusalem two years later I read in *Al Fajr* that she has been refused permission to travel to the United Nations meeting in Nairobi.

I would like through your newspaper to tell Mrs Khalil that we in Durham have not forgotten her and *In'ash al-Usra*, and that we will do what we can to raise her case with the Israeli authorities in England.

Dr. R.F. Drewett
Durham
England

Annexing Education in Jerusalem

by Awad Abdel Fattah

Two months ago the Jerusalem municipality education department closed Khalil al-Sakakini school, one of the government primary schools for Palestinians in East Jerusalem. The municipality said that recent cuts in the education budget, part of the austerity economic programme announced July 1, made it impossible to keep the school open. The other reason they gave, apparently intended to absorb any opposition to the closure among the Palestinian population, was that students should move to schools close to their place of residence.

But the Palestinian population, and the educators in particular, dispute these explanations and view this measure as merely another one in a series of consecutive measures taken by the Israeli occupation authorities against the Palestinian education system in East Jerusalem since 1967. Local Palestinian newspapers termed the municipality's measure as a "conspiracy against the school" and warned that the closure would have negative repercussions on education in East Jerusalem government schools.

The Israeli policy of replacing Jordanian curriculum with the Israeli curriculum, which was started in the 1968-69 academic year as part of the drive to permanently annex East Jerusalem, collapsed in the mid 1970s due to the struggle of the educators, who were backed by all sectors of the Palestinian society. But this policy left its marks on the educational system in East Jerusalem, reflected in the growing rate of drop-outs, illiteracy and the drop in the quality of teaching at government schools.

Teachers Strike After '67

After the 1967 war was over, Israel embarked on a number of measures to ensure the annexation of East Jerusalem and the integration of its Palestinian population and their institutions into the Israeli infrastructure. Among these measures was the abrogation of Jordanian law, which had been in effect before the war in the occupied territories, including Jerusalem, and which the Israelis retained in the rest of the West Bank, as required by international law.

In particular, the cancellation of Jordanian laws and regulations pertaining to the educational system had wide-ranging implications for the population of East Jerusalem. All the government schools which had been part of the Jordanian educational system and subordinated to the Jordanian Education Ministry were annexed to the Israeli educational system, which meant that they had to use the same curriculum as Arab schools in Israel. Private schools in the city were made subject to Israeli inspection. These measures were approved by the Knesset which passed a law in this regard the same year.

The Israeli interference in government schools sparked a general strike at the beginning of the 1967-68 academic year, not only in East Jerusalem schools but also throughout the West Bank. School principals and teachers refused to open their schools in protest against the new policy. Israel retaliated by arresting scores of principals and teachers including Husni al-Ashhab, head of the Jerusalem district Education Department, which was also closed by the Israelis, in an attempt to force them to accept the new regulations and return to work. The strike lasted four months. Only a few teachers and principals returned to work for fear of "their own and the students' future," according to one of the teachers.

Taher al-Namari is a veteran teacher who taught at al-Rashidiyya government school in East Jerusalem until the eve of the 1967 war, and who is now a lecturer at Bethlehem University. He was one of the teachers who were arrested and interrogated several times in 1967 for refusing to go back to work. Recently, he published a study in *al-Bayader Assiyasi* magazine on education in Palestinian schools in Jerusalem in which, among other things, he outlines the struggle the Palestinian educators waged against the Israeli curriculum and the negative efforts of this curriculum on Palestinian students, over the 18 years of occupation.

"The teachers," he wrote, "believed that the introduction of the Israeli curriculum is aimed at denationalising the young Palestinian generation and severing their ties with their national and cultural belonging as well as with their homeland."

In his analysis of the curriculum, al-Namari says that the Israeli history, geography and civics programmes disseminate values and concepts that are alien to Arab and Palestinian culture and society. The curriculum, he says, is designed to plant in the minds of the young that Palestine is a Jewish land and that the Israelis have 'liberated' it from 'strangers.'

Abdullah Ikkawi, today principal of Dar al-Awlad private school who also was among the striking teachers in 1967, expressed the same opinion and said that the Israelis intended to alienate the young Palestinian generation and to make "us a tool for implementing this dangerous plan."

The teachers were also aware that if they returned to work, this would mean recognising the Israeli sovereignty over and annexation of East Jerusalem.

Exodus from Government Schools

As the Palestinian teachers refused to go back to work despite threats and harassment, the Israelis started to employ new teachers by December of 1967. According to Taher al-Namari, most of these new teachers were not qualified and did not possess the required certificate. "They just wanted to work, that's all." He added that the Israelis used these new teachers, who were naive, to foil the strike and impose their policy.

Al-Namari's study shows that 90 percent of the government school teachers continued the strike and refused to go back to work at all. Most of them were from the West Bank, and some of them later moved to West Bank private schools.

But the implementation of the Israeli curriculum and the hiring of unqualified teachers led to a sharp drop in the number of students in government schools and, consequently, an imbalanced distribution of students in East Jerusalem schools. Many students at government schools moved to private and Islamic *waqf* schools. For example, at al-Rashidiyya, one of the most prestigious schools in Jerusalem, only 12 students out of an original 250 remained during the 1970-71 academic year. In the 1977-78 academic year the imbalance in the educational system was very clear. Government schools absorbed only 44 percent of the total number of Palestinian students in East Jerusalem, as opposed to 63 percent before 1967, while the rate of students in private and Islamic *waqf* schools went up to 45 percent from an original 26 percent before the Israeli occupation.

The load on private schools was very heavy. The Islamic *waqf* schools added new rooms to absorb the growing number of students who were overflowing from the government schools. The increasingly acute shortage of space in private schools left teachers little choice but to divide the school day into shifts. Dozens of striking teachers came to work in these schools on a volunteer basis, at least for two years, in order to alleviate the possible negative effects of the new situation on the educational process.

According to Namari's study, until 1972, 33 percent of children aged 6-7 years did not go to school at all. He attributes this fact not only to the confusion that followed the Israeli occupation but also to the failure of the Israelis to implement the compulsory education law in Palestinian schools the way they do in Jewish schools. Although thousands of Palestinian students dropped out from school before completing even elementary education, no authority followed up the matter.

Concern and Embarrassment

This situation confused both the principals who had accepted to return to work and the Israeli authorities alike, and put them in an embarrassing position. A number of working school principals sent a memorandum to the Israeli minister of education in September 1971 expressing their concern about the problem "represented in the possibility of closing the government schools, in view of the continuing flow of students out of government schools and into private schools because of the difficulty of the Israeli curriculum and the ease of the Jordanian curriculum." These principals were criticised by the striking educators in East Jerusalem for not openly demanding the reinstatement of Jordanian curriculum and the abolition of the Israeli one.

At that point, negotiations on the curriculum got underway between representatives from the Israeli Ministry of Education and representatives from the primary and the secondary schools. These negotiations produced a formula called the "unified curriculum" which retained the Israeli curriculum but added to it courses from the Jordanian curriculum. The striking educators criticised this formula, because they didn't believe it represented an effective solution.

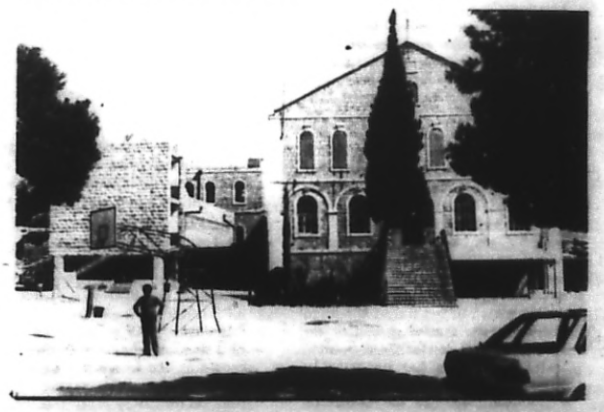
The new formula required the students to sit for both the Israeli *bagrut* (high school matriculation) exams and the Jordanian *tawjihi* exams. "But," said one of the educators, "the united formula did not attract more students to government schools, because it doubled the burden on the students." He explained that the formula included 43 classes per week, while the normal average of classes per week is 28-34.

The meeting between Israeli representatives and Palestinian educators also led to the formation of a joint education committee in 1971 to follow up on the curriculum issue. The education committee included individual principals from private schools.

When the committee met soon after, the Israelis insisted on preparing a text book about Jewish history and making it a compulsory subject in East Jerusalem government schools. "The purpose of that book," said al-Namari, who like most of the striking teachers was not involved in these negotiations, "was to brainwash the young Palestinian generation, by implanting Zionist ideas in their minds." But Ratib al-Rabi, the former principal of al-Rashidiyya school who was a member of the joint education committee, told *Al Fajr:* "I believe it was impossible to confront the Israelis and force them to retreat from their plans. So we didn't have any other option but to negotiate with them." This stand was considered by many Palestinian educators as anti-nationalist.

Although al-Rabi had considered the results of the first meeting (the unified curriculum) as an achievement, he changed his mind at the meeting of the education committee in January 1973, where he declared that the unified

Continued on page 15



Al-Rashidiyya school in Jerusalem: *12 students out of 250 remained during the 1970-1971 academic year.*

Al Fajr Interview

Ibrahim Abu Lughod Evaluates Palestinian Politics

by Ghassan Bishara

Born in Yaffa, Palestine, Dr. Ibrahim Abu-Lughod received his Ph.D from Princeton University. He currently teaches political science at Northwestern University in Chicago, Illinios, where he was recently appointed chairman of that department. Abu-Lughod is a member of the Palestine National Council (PNC). His writings on the PLO, Arab politics, US foreign policy in the Middle East, and the Palestinian question, are highly respected in the US and abroad.

Among his numerous publications on the question of Palestine, the best known is his book, The Transformation of Palestine.

In the following interview, conducted by telephone on July 9, 1985, Abu-Lughod discusses the ongoing process of the Palestine struggle and outlines his vision for the future.

•••

Q: Professor Abu-Lughod, from your reading and understanding of the Amman agreement, does it provide grounds for a reasonable solution to the conflict from the Palestinian point of view?

A: In my view, even with its defects from a Palestinian point of view, the Amman agreement is totally unacceptable to both the Americans and the Israelis. At least by the Palestinian interpretation of the agreement, joint Jordanian-Palestinian participation is really participation by Jordan and the PLO, as distinct and separate entities, joining together for the specific purpose of discussions with the US. So the complete independence of the PLO is maintained, by Palestinian interpretation, in the February 11 agreement. So that agreement would be totally unacceptable [to the US], as they in fact have indicated, because of the American interest in *totally subordinating the Palestinians* either to the Jordanian system or to some other entity. The Americans insist that the PLO is unacceptable, in any form or shape, as the proper representative of the Palestinian people. The Americans and the Israelis would like a "joint-delegation" headed by Jordan which would include Palestinian elements, preferably from the West Bank and Gaza, who would be known as supporters of what has been termed the "Jordanian Option." Under no circumstances, in my judgment, would Israel and the US agree to PLO participation in any international endeavour that would see a solution to the conflict in Palestine.

"The Amman Agreement is totally unacceptable to both the Americans and the Israelis."

I think the intention of those who suggested my name [as a potential delegate] was to confuse the Palestinian people and to create doubts about the agreement's potential. Those who made this suggestion in fact intend ill both to the individuals themselves and to the PLO as well. It creates the impression that Palestinians in fact are willing to transcend the PLO and collaborate with a formula, such as the Jordanian-Palestinian formula, independent of the PLO. The mere suggestion that there are Palestinians who are willing to consider that harms not only the individuals named, but the collective representation of the Palestinian people by the PLO.

The PLO will accept no substitute for itself as the proper representative and interlocutor of the Palestinian people. By the same token, since it is the representative of the Palestinians, it has the competence and the authority to designate any person it wishes, under its instructions, to pursue the realisation of the rights of the Palestinian people. I have no idea what the leadership thinks independently of these people, but if it designates any one of these, it is quite clear that they would be designated with a mandate that would in no way deviate from the implementation of the national rights of the Palestinian people entailing self-determination, independence, right of return, and so forth.

Q: Jordanian Foreign Minister Taher al-Masri said that the US in fact agreed that the PLO nominate certain Palestinians, including those from the US, who are not known to be closely identified with the PLO.

A: I didn't hear Taher al-Masri's statement. But, the mere suggestion that the Palestinian delegation will be subject to clearance and approval of the US State Department indicates that the latter does not view the PLO as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. Nobody checks on the members of the delegation of a sovereign state; similarly, in the case of the Palestinians, the PLO cannot accept the reaction of either the US, or the Arab states or Israel, to the designation of its own representatives to carry out any kind of political discussion anywhere. If it does that, it is quite clearly abdicating its responsibility as the proper representative of the Palestinians and the supreme authority with *which it is vested by the National* Council of the Palestinian people to designate whomever it wishes to carry out its plan independently of any other agency. I would thus be sceptical about the statement of Taher al-Masri.

Q: Are you saying that the PLO cannot, or are you really saying that the PLO should not?

A: What I am saying is that the PLO cannot, and I will tell you why. If the PLO does that, it will no longer be the same PLO which has been designated by the Palestinian people as the supreme embodiment of their will and their decision-making. The fight of the Palestinians has been, since 1964, to maintain their independence in decision-making, to do whatever the Palestinian people insist upon through their supreme executive organisation, and that's the PLO Executive Committee. The Executive Committee, therefore, cannot abdicate its responsibility, not that it shouldn't, but it cannot because, if it does, it would then negate its sovereignty within the Palestinian community.

Q: The State Department at some point differentiated between the PLO as a whole, and the PNC as an "umbrella organisation." Can you comment on this distinction?

A: I do not think that the US can maintain that position for the very simple reason that the Executive Committee of the PLO is elected by the PNC, and it is the executive arm of the Palestinian "state to be." That is, the PNC stands in relation to the Palestinian people as the legislature, whereas the Executive Committee is the cabinet. Now, no legislature in the world carries out executive functions; sometimes there are members of the legislature who are included in a delegation, but the delegation is composed principally of people in the executive branch of the government. Now the PLO is essentially the executive branch of the government, and by the division of labour, it is entrusted with the task of carrying out discussions on behalf of the Palestinian people and it is accountable in these matters to the PNC. If the PLO itself, that is, the political department which carries out the diplomatic and political functions of the Palestinian people, wishes to designate any member of the PNC to a delegation, then PNC members occasionally serve on these delegations. But in that capacity, they are subordinate to the head of the political department of the PLO, Farouk Qaddoumi, or his representatives, and they receive instructions from him.

So while the State Department may maintain its position that there is a distinction between the PNC and the PLO it is, in fact, a distinction without a difference. We all are subject to the same rules, to the by-laws, to the charter of the Palestine Liberation Organisation, which is the National Charter, which governs both the executive and the legislative branches.

It is my interpretation that any delegation composed for any international gathering will operate on the basis of the resolutions that have been internationally mandated in the United Nations calling for the Palestinian right to self-determination, entailing independence and sovereignty in Palestine. That is: an independent Palestinian state now defined to include the West Bank and Gaza, the return of the Palestinians, their representation by the PLO, and their right to national identity.

Q: The PLO is now perceived by the United States and Israel as very weak. Do you then think this is the correct time for negotiations?

A: Absolutely the wrong time. I personally don't perceive the PLO as being weak. I perceive our struggle as a long haul, and you have occasional setbacks in the process of national liberation. Therefore we may be witnessing a temporary disjunction of appropriate forces which we can utilise to our advantage. But regardless of the situation, we do not have today, in my judgment, the balance of power and the balance of forces in the Arab region in order to count on the mobilisation of enough forces in the Arab world to ensure an equitable discussion between any parties — between the United States and the Arabs. I think the Americans and the Israelis know this, so they push for an agreement in light of the existing situation, which would obviously result in an agreement dictated by the US and Israel. In that sense, any suggestion that the arena is ready for constructive discussions between adversaries is simply a way of entrapping the Palestinians in a situation that will bring a negative outcome.

Q: As Lenin put it, "What is to be done?" What can the Palestinians do to "rectify" Arab conditions and the Arab situation? Is it achievable in the foreseeable future?

A: Yes, of course. I think first of all, we need to clarify the nature of our struggle — intellectually and politically. We need to clarify it for our own Arab people. It is much more important to pay attention to the Arab environment at this juncture, as it has always been, and to project a correct vision of what we want to establish in Palestine and in the Arab world, to the Arab people. My hunch is that if we come out unambiguously in favour of national liberation, that we view Israel as a colonial settler state, that the kind of society we want to establish in Palestine is progressive, democratic, and so on, I think we would have a tremendous consensus behind us from the Arab people. I think part of the problem behind why the Arab people have not been able to help us as they should have is not only because of governmental repression, but in fact because we ourselves were unclear on our self-image.

"If there is a top priority for the PLO today and the Palestinian revolution, it is to recognise ourselves so that we can be efficient... honest, uncorruptable, and very capable in the task of national liberation."

Abu Lughod

Secondly, it's not only by talking that you gain support; it's also by doing that your presentation of yourself becomes more credible. If you say you want to establish a democratic society in Palestine in the future, then you have to be democratic today in your own arena. Yes, the National Council can be democratic, but it can also be undemocratic. The practice of democracy, which is probably the most difficult practice, has to start within our own Palestinian Council and institutions. If you talk about efficiency, then you have to be quite efficient; and if you talk about quality, then you have to be meritocratic.

Therefore, in my judgment, if there is a top priority for the PLO today and the Palestinian revolution, it is to reorganise ourselves so that we can be efficient, so that we can be perceived as being honest, uncorruptable, and very capable in the task of national liberation. It is my opinion that we are not so perceived by the Arab people.

A major task of reform that would require the collective will of the leadership itself, as well as that of the cadres of the militant groups and other sectors of Palestinian society, is the ability to deliver better. This is really required, especially after the setback in Beirut. We all have learned some lessons from Beirut and have discovered important weaknesses to which we should have been sensitive before. But we discovered them in the course of the defence of Beirut. *We should have learned.* Therefore in the execution of our tasks — whether research, writing, political, or social tasks — we have to demonstrate that we have learned the lessons of Beirut. We have to create the most effective and efficient and meritocratic and democratic system in the Arab world.

My own view has always been that whatever task we do, we must do well. Collectively that is, all of these tasks together, if we do them well, will ensure national liberation.

I think it is very important for the leadership to initiate national dialogue among writers, among technicians, among health personnel, among the military, among all of us. The Palestinian people have many functional groups, and I think that if we have a national dialogue about all that needs to be done, the leadership would be better off, our institutions would be better off, and I think the Palestinian people would be better off.

Also I think that we have to be credible in terms of our people under occupation. This is where the first priority should be. If we want to render assistance, that assistance has to be top-notch, where it counts most — to our people in the occupied territories, and to our people in Lebanon. Wherever we are, we have to strengthen their backbone not because they are soft, but because they need resources. We have to demonstrate, in fact, not that we are present in Paris, London and New York, but that we are present in all areas of Palestinian concentration. So we have to shift the emphasis in the conduct of our struggle and in terms of assigning the resources to the correct arenas — namely occupied Palestine.

Q: If the Amman agreement fails and is ultimately rejected, can you foresee Palestinians in the future lamenting its rejection — in the same way that some Palestinians feel about other proposals that were presented and turned down?

A: My own feeling is that the agreement will not produce the desired outcome. The ultimate outcome is obviously the international conference. That international conference will not take place, and anyone who thinks that an international conference on the question of Palestine is feasible reads the situation differently. It will be feasible, one of these days, when the balance of forces is such that its convening becomes "the" way to handle this balance of force which would be favourable for the Palestinians.

As I said before, because the balance is not advantageous to us, the US wants a different alternative. Historically, the United States government has always been in favour of bilateral agreements between Israel and each of the Arab states. In that approach there is no room for the Palestinians, no room whatsoever. And ever since President Carter made his move at Camp David, I think the American government has made it crystal clear that the only Palestinians that it perceives as a problem are the Palestinians of the West Bank and Gaza. The solution perceived by the US government, which is not inconsistent with Israel's perception, is the solution to the problem of the West Bank and Gaza. The rest of the Palestinians are a problem for the Arab states.

In that sense, the February 11 agreement, and any other attempt to accomodate the US, I believe, was doomed to fail from the very beginning precisely because it conflicts with the fundamental postulates of the US. Now, will we regret it when we come to that outcome? I really don't believe that we have forfeited a single opportunity that was advantageous to us. I don't believe that there was any historic decision that we rejected that was to our advantage, including the partition. The partition plan was a scheme to force the Palestinians to give up half of their national patrimony so that a Jewish state could be established. The mufti knew that there was nothing for the Palestinians in that scheme. This is Western thinking. These opportunities in 1936, 1947, etc, are all Western thinking. In fact, there has never been a single opportunity that was offered to us, that was minimally acceptable to us, to which we could have consented.

Q: You have heard some Palestinian leaders refer at the last PNC to the disaster of not accepting the partition.

A: It's wrong. I think it's wrong. I think, unfortunately, that we as Palestinians, and we as Arabs, are so brainwashed by the West now that we are incapable of thinking independently. I think it is very fundamental that we, the Arab intellectuals, have some proper interaction with basic cadres of the various political organisations. I am always very impressed with the critical thinking of our cadres. I used to be in Lebanon, and I think that our cadres were much better than many an intellectual leader. Instinctively, they understand the situation, *in situ*, on the ground, independently of Western thinking. The Lebanese resistance understood much better than its leadership. They were successful in evicting the Israelis precisely in the same way that no one thought possible. Nobody would have thought it possible that the Israelis would be evicted by the Lebanese resistance. We have to discard what the West has taught us. There are many good things that the West teaches, but many of the things that they teach us are intended, in fact, to cripple us.

Q: What do you envision as a solution to the Palestinian question, taking into account that Israel apparently must accept that plan, whatever it is? You have already answered part of it.

A: Let me add to it. I think it's quite clear now that if we escalate the costs of occupation for the occupier, if we escalate the costs to Israel... Well, I think maybe a little "accident" here and a little "accident" there, to let them mobilise more forces for control, so they can suffer more economically. I think that if we escalate the costs, if we have civil strife, more demonstrations, more strikes, if we are able to prevent our people from working for the Israeli colony; whatever is needed, we have to be creative in resisting the occupation. Resisting means that you have to make occupation more costly until you reach the critical point where it no longer pays off for the occupier. We know of course, that Israel desires and covets the land itself, and therefore covets also either the eviction of the people, or their total subordination.

But I think there has been sufficient change both in Israel and among the Palestinians to the extent that it is no longer feasible for Israel to extend the occupation. I think it is feasible for us to make it so costly for Israel to remain in the West Bank and Gaza that, at some point not in the distant future, with increasing civil resistance, stikes, demonstrations, economic boycotts and so forth, Israel will be under pressure from its own people to come to terms with the Palestinians.

"Unfortunately, we are so brainwashed by the West that we are incapable of thinking independently."

I also think that if resistance in the West Bank and Gaza escalates, the Palestinian people there will get much greater sympathy and international support. That is the antithesis of what Mr Schultz talks about when he speaks of "improving the quality of life" in the West Bank and Gaza. What he is saying is that the occupied must adapt himself to the occupier and his life should be "bearable." What I am saying is that I want to make it unbearable for the occupation to continue. In that sense, we need to organise our people. Our people have to organise themselves politically in the West Bank and Gaza, create a national front, even if it's underground. [We must] have a mea-

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Israeli Scene

In These Great Times

Menachem Livni, leader of the Gush Emunim terror underground, talks to his wife in court the day the underground members were sentenced. Livni got life in prison for murdering three students in the Islamic College slaying in Hebron in July of 1983./AFP photo.

by Michael Lowry

I. "Dedicated Pioneers"

"Even as its airforce claimed an eye for an eye in Lebanon last week, Israel's judicial arm declared private vengeance by Jews against Arabs to be terrorism and murder. At considerable political cost, this hard-pressed democracy will jail some of its most dedicated pioneers and decorated soldiers to proclaim the sanctity of life and law.

"Such an assertion of legal limits in the midst of a terror war deserves wide admiration. But for the right reason: Israel's concern for justice for the Arabs living under its administration is no mere magnanimity. It is a vital act of self-definition, an effort to add moral armour to Israel's military strength" (*New York Times* editorial, *The New York Times*, July 14, 1985).

Following the June 1980 car bomb attacks on the West Bank mayors, the Israeli government strenuously denied allegations that a settler-underground was operating in the occupied territories. Begin even went so far as to say that it was inconceivable that Jews could have had a hand in the bombings.

A year later, the Israeli airforce bombed downtown Beirut. Two years later, the Israeli army invaded Lebanon. In response to the September 1982 Beirut massacres, Begin remarked: "Goyim kill Goyim and they come to hang the Jew." Hence, it is hardly surprising that in June 1980, government spokespersons hinted that the car bombs had been planted by the mayors' Palestinian political rivals.

Up to the day the members of the Gush Emunim terror network were arrested, the government persisted in ridiculing allegations about a settler-underground as "left-wing twaddle" or "a figment of Yossi Sarid [MK, CRM]'s imagination." Moreover, even in the wake of the arrest of the underground, the idea persisted that the settlers could not have committed the crimes attributed to them, making for a cognitive dissonance among the Israeli public which was deftly manipulated by the Israeli right.

In the weeks that followed their arrest, the prime minister at the time, Yitzhak Shamir, waxed ebullient over the success of the *Shin Bet* (the Israeli secret police) and vented his spleen on those degenerate leftists who dared to cast aspersions on the settlement movement as a whole. Indeed, the idea that occupation and colonialism are the breeding grounds for such groups was never really allowed to be taken seriously. A year later, even the *New York Times* would refer to the actions of the underground as "private vengeance by Jews against Arabs" — a variation of the underground's own justification for its actions, ie, "We took the law into our own hands."

However, the editorial quoted above is quite correct in pointing out that the underground includes some of Israel's "most dedicated pioneers." When sentence was passed on 15 members of the underground on July 22, the court also noted that "most if not all [of the convicted terrorists] are *yeshiva* graduates who also have academic backgrounds; most of them served in the Israeli army and took part in the wars of Israel; they are [hard working and religiously observant] men who left lives of comfort to go out with their families to establish a Hebrew settlement, work it, and guard it" (quoted in *HaAretz*, July 23, 1985).

Quite plainly, the terrorists came from the Gush Emunim settler elite. The "Hebrew settlement" mentioned by the court is actually the infrastructure for an apartheid state in the occupied territories. And as for what guarding it entails, the testimony of Dan Be'eri is quite informative.

Be'eri, one of the defendants who plea-bargained his way to a reduced sentence, told the court that "the idea to blow up the Dome of the Rock Mosque crystallised during the final stages of the withdrawal from Sinai. I believed that by blowing up the Dome of the Rock under such circumstances... the Arabs would feel compelled to cancel the Camp David agreements and thereby bring the withdrawal to a halt" (*Al Hamishmar*, March 27, 1985).

Of course, this is the stuff "dedicated pioneers" are made of. But when Judge Bazak referred to Be'eri as a "consistent pacifist" when passing sentence, he was perhaps stretching things a bit far.

II. "A Law Unto Themselves"

"A strange thought is forming in my head. All of a sudden I start thinking about the fact that I love the Shin Bet. *At first I didn't share this intimate discovery with anyone else. It took a while for my love to grow and become so basic a feeling that I could no longer deny it. It was then that I came out of the closet. Testing the water, I murmured something about my new found affection to my family and friends. I was taking a chance, for as far as I knew none of them bore any affection for the secret service, save for one who worked for them... Now, my affection has a history, which all in all is quite short. It also contains a moral for the public which I take to be important. A liking for the* Shin Bet *began to take hold of me when it apprehended the Jewish terror suspects... I was driven to ask myself how it could happen that a secret apparatus suddenly became such an effective democratic remedy... A large section of the public has trouble thinking and acting in a rational manner. This shortcoming is more than evident in the political system. The Likud by and large — to say nothing of the groups further to the right — has been swept up by its own chauvinistic pathos and among the politicians in the centre as well, there are more than a few figures who hesitate to cross the street before they have calculated which way the wind is blowing. Only a professional body with an ambitious and... select workforce which must detatch itself from outside influences can operate with a clear mind and like a computer, feed out the necessary data on demand"* (Gideon Summit, *HaAretz*, July 31, 1985).

Summit is not alone in conjecturing that if it hadn't been for the insistence of the *Shin Bet*, the Gush Emunim terrorists may not have been arrested.

Of course, Summit forgets that scarcely a week prior to the arrest of the Gush Emunim terrorists, *Shin Bet* agents together with Israeli army officers removed two Palestinians from a bus they had hijacked and beat them to death. All the same, Summit's point is worth exploring.

During the four years the underground was in operation, settler violence reached such alarming proportions that the government of Israel was forced to appoint a special commission, headed by Yehudit Karp, to investigate the matter. The Karp Commission's findings pointed to a general situation in the occupied territories in which the security forces and the police turned a blind eye to settler violence. But when the commission presented its findings to Minister of Interior Yosef Burg, he dismissed them as owing more to Ms Karp's political beliefs than to any actual situation in the territories.

At the time, it seemed that the government and the occupation army were not prepared to interfere with the settlers. Nor the *Shin Bet* for that matter — that is, until the underground decided to stage an action in Jerusalem. (The members of the underground were arrested a few hours after they had planted bombs on five East Jerusalem buses.) At that point, it seems the *Shin Bet* pushed for the arrest of the underground, hoping that the judicial system would take over once the terrorists had been arrested and charged.

But unlike the *Shin Bet*, the Israeli judiciary is open to "outside influences." In the course of the underground trial, the authority of the courts was so undermined by the terrorists' Knesset lobby, that when sentence was passed, judges throughout the country breathed a sigh of relief. In the wake of the May 1985 prisoner-exchange, the campaign to free the terrorists grew to the point that judges throughout Israel threatened to resign if the underground's Knesset lobby did not stop interfering in the trial. Deputy Prime Minister Shamir showed his respect for due process of law by saying that if there was enough political support for releasing the terrorists, it wouldn't be a problem to find a legal loophole to do so.

Throughout the trial the underground and its supporters obstinately denied that they had committed criminal acts; while acknowledging most of the acts they were charged with, the terrorists claimed that they had been left with no choice but to "take the law into their own hands" given the "security vacuum" that existed on the West Bank. And as the trial progressed, more and more Israelis adopted this argument.

Yehuda Etzion, frequently referred to in the press as the "ideologue of the underground," said that he and his comrades should have been charged with "acting without government authorisation" presenting his own idiosyncratic version of the notion that the underground had "taken the law into its own hands."

Etzion's logic should not be dismissed out of hand. In the wake of the October 1973 war, Gush Emunim came to the notice of the Israeli public when it began to challenge the authority of the Labour government over settling in the populated areas in the West Bank. Time after time, the members of Gush Emunim disregarded the law, and time after time, the Labour party capitulated to their demands — until in 1977 it was replaced by a government more predisposed to Gush Emunim ideology.

According to Meron Benvenisti, there were 5023 settlers on the West Bank when the Likud came to power in 1977. By 1984, there were 42,600 (*Politika*, July 1985). In the interim, the government funnelled millions of dollars to the settlers, expropriated thousands of dunums on their behalf, granted them "autonomy" in the framework of the Camp David "peace process" and launched a war designed to cement Israel's hold over its 1967 territorial acquisitions.

III. In These Great Times

"[Now that the underground trial has come to an end] it is our duty to remember that the state of Israel and all of its institutions, like the skies above it, the land, and the fruit thereof, are all holy. Blessed be G-d who in his love for his people awarded us in past generations in general, and in the last generation in particular, with [our] return-to-Zion

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Below we reprint from *Arab Perspectives* (December, 1984) a dialogue between two prominent Arab artists, Suad al-Attar, an Iraqi, and Kamal Boullata, a Palestinian. The dialogue focuses on al-Attar's work, and Arab art in general. Al-Attar recently had her first solo exhibit in the US at the Alif gallery of the Arab American Cultural Foundation in Washington DC (December 1-29, 1984).

Dialogue on Arab Art

BOULLATA – Have you ever thought of writing poetry?

ATTAR – I have never written poetry. I never understood how the poem is done. My husband does. Most Iraqis, especially those from south Iraq, are born with this gift of writing poetry. But I have always envied people who can. This world of words is unbelievable.

BOULLATA – I find that there is an intrinsic relationship between what you call "this world of words" and your painting. I do not mean that the visual form of Arabic script has anything to do with your work, as it does with works by various Arab artists, including myself, but that the nature of your figurative paintings is *narrative*. The titles of your paintings in themselves are a primal key to this visual narrative, titles such as *From a Thousand and One Nights*, *Gilgamesh and the Eternal Love*, and *Ascending to a Dreamland*.

Kamal Boullata

ATTAR – *Ascending to a Dreamland* and many other similar titles I wrote only the day before I shipped the paintings to the exhibition (in Washington, DC). But, while I was painting, I could have written so many words, so many titles. Sometimes I think it is so unfair to use just one word for a title. I would just love to be able to give this choice to every person who looks at the painting. It is difficult to use just one title.

BOULLATA – What interests me personally in the development of contemporary Arab art is its parallelism with the development of American contemporary art. Arab artists returning from Europe before the Second World War imitated European artists, just as American artists did around the same period. After the 1950s, however, each began to assert his or her identity. Studio painting was an integral form of personalised expression in Western culture. Its individualistic horizon was expanded by the Americans. The Arabs borrowed this Western medium. Their major source of inspiration, in asserting their own identity, seems to have been the Arabic language, in its visual manifestations and its wealth of imagery.

Your work, as an example, is a pioneering model of narrative painting in contemporary Arab art; every form seems to be an archetype that is deeply rooted in a lyricism familiar to readers of contemporary Arabic verse.

ATTAR – The question of identity, and meaning, is important. In fact, some people look at my paintings and misunderstand the meaning of those figures or faces. And they ask, "What is that? What does it represent, that face? Is it a man or a woman?" The whole idea is that the human being is central, and the ambiguity as to whether it is a man or woman is meant to intensify the experience of the viewer. That's what is important.

BOULLATA – When we look at an Islamic miniature and we see ten different faces in it, if we examine the characteristics of each one of the faces we find that they are almost identical. The individuality of each character is unimportant. What is important is how each of these faces participates in making up the whole. In that respect, I find your work so well related with that tradition.

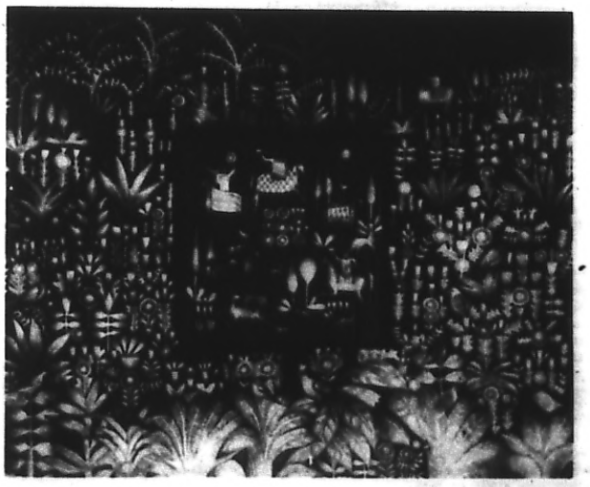
ATTAR – This is lovely to hear. I have never managed to explain this as well as you just did. When I was at the age of 22, my early inspirations were Assyrian reliefs. So, when I started painting faces, they were not really faces, they were....

BOULLATA – Masks.

ATTAR – Yes. But they belonged to humans of immemorial times. As to the trees, animals and the other stylised figures in my earlier paintings, they were inspired by the miniatures of Al-Wasiti, who lived and worked in mid-13th century Baghdad.

BOULLATA – If we look at the works of the great pioneers of art in our time, such as Picasso and Matisse, we see an obsession — especially noted by non-Westerners, by the way — with spatial problems in the earlier works. Cubism was the culmination of that trend. However, these same painters, in their later years, were freed from these spatial preoccupations, brought on by the attempt to express the three-dimensional form, and began to work with colour in flat surfaces. Your development seems to indicate a reverse process. Your earlier paintings were flat and decorative, while, in your more recent work, the figures emerge from the dark background with a roundness that is all their own.

ATTAR – That is exactly the case. You have pinpointed it. When I started painting, influenced by Assyrian reliefs and Al-Wasiti miniatures, I used to see everything flat. In a way, that perspective intensified what I wanted to express. The human figures in those earlier paintings were timid, very enclosed, but surrounded by this world of fantasy. The paintings were not decorative; they were something beyond that, even though they were flat. I was able to reach what I wanted to say in that way, and I enjoyed it. I placed great emphasis on the feelings in the faces, which were not painted flat. Only the background was flat. I had no idea that you had followed that period of my work, which was in 1963-64.



Suad al-Attar – *Flower Hunters*

BOULLATA – I would like to know if your involvement in graphic art actually had an influence, even indirectly, on this change in your painting, especially this reverse transition from flat surfaces to three-dimensional, from lyrical to what one might call mythological/narrative?

ATTAR – Yes, graphic art did influence my work. At first, I painted flat faces and filled every space with detail, at the same time emphasising the human figure. But when you work in graphic art, you are working with black metal, not a blank canvas. I did that for three years. After that, I started using black paint and, as you say, the figures emerged and acquired an extra dimension. All of a sudden, I had a feeling of nostalgia I had not experienced before. To me, those figures were more than just figures; they were statues. Very unusual statues, with heads of animals and strong bodies.

Suad al-Attar

BOULLATA – The black background in your paintings is not spatial, as it is, for instance, in the black background of a Rembrandt self-portrait or one of Caravaggio's biblical themes. Your backgrounds are flat, but the geometric structures surrounding some figures hem in the human bodies like prison bars. You also introduce graphic techniques, such as etching out paint with a hard edge.

So, in a way, this is a different emphasis on a flat variation to convey narrative imagery. Somehow, I find the dark tones to be a continuation of your earlier period, when, for example, a bird seemed to be imprisoned by the foliage. A human being, in your current work, appears caged in by the flat darkness all around.

ATTAR – I tried to eliminate all those details in order to emphasise a new feeling, which was that the human being has always been trapped within himself.

BOULLATA – We are trapped in our bodies.

ATTAR – Yes, like being trapped between the forces of good and evil. It sounds like a cliche, but living and feeling that, it gives you inspiration and motivation.

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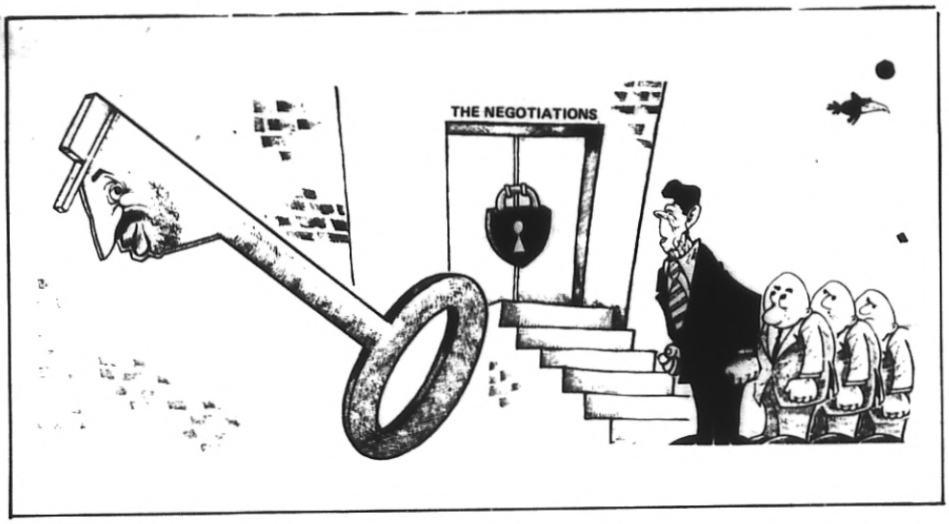
WINDOW ON THE ARAB PRESS



Palestinian papers in the face of heavy censorship attempted to cover this week the situation in the occupied territories in the aftermath of an Israeli military crackdown.

Palestinian papers gave front-page coverage to the Israeli cabinet's decision *vis-a-vis* the occupied territories.

Other topics receiving prominence included the Arab Summit, the suicide mule attack in south Lebanon and the closure of Najah University for two months.

The Imbalance

There is no doubt that the Middle East witnesses extraordinary conditions. There is a drastic imbalance in the economic, political and social factors whose roots lie in the fact that a just and lasting solution could not be found for the Arab-Israeli conflict and the Palestinian problem in particular.

The Palestinian people has been living under occupation for 18 years now. This people looks forward to the day when occupation comes to an end. It is self-evident that no coexistence or peace can be imposed.

The expectations of the Palestinian people are different from those of the Israeli people. The future of both peoples cannot be connected together. This discrepancy leads to imbalance and to consequences that will affect the coming generations.

The search for solutions to violence and counterviolence does not lie in superficial matters. It has to go down to the roots. There is still a chance for those seeking a solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict. All parties have to face realities and try to find a solution to the Palestinian problem.

AL QUDS
August 1

Why Do They Want the Emergency Summit?

Those who called for the emergency summit are trying to hide their real motives by talking about the situation in Beirut camps and in the occupied territories. But they called for the summit long before the aggression on the camps. They were more candid when they called for it right after the Amman agreement so as to give support to the Jordanian-Palestinian joint move, to change the Arab League charter, and to endorse the principle of [decision-making by] majority rather than consensus. This is clearly aimed at Syria, democratic Yemen, Libya and Algeria. Those seeking the amendment aim at calling Egypt back to the Arab fold.

This haste in convening the Arab summit, despite opposition to it by effective Arab countries, can be explained by the fact that those who called for the summit are trying to secure the support of Arab countries participating in this summit. And since the leaders of the Arab countries that will attend are known to be closely connected with America, no one can claim that the summit will serve the Arab struggle. But these Arab leaders are mistaken if they think that their resolutions can be implemented.

AL TALI'A
August 1

Racism Shows its Teeth

For the fourth day, the largest town in the West Bank has been isolated from the world. Curfew is still imposed on Nablus. As a result of the wave of violence and counterviolence, the Arab citizens live in an atmosphere charged with fear and tension following the cries for revenge by the settlers and other extremists. No doubt the Israeli street goes through similar conditions of fear and tension. This is the inevitable result of violence and counterviolence whose causes are deeply rooted in the continuation of occupation and the absence of any signs to end these extraordinary conditions.

What is strange is the way the Israeli government is handling the situation. On the one hand, it calls upon the Israelis to show restraint and on the other hand it threatens the Arabs in the occupied territories with stricter measures. We are afraid the Israeli-Arab conflict may be turned from a political to a racial and sectarian conflict. Should the government fail to handle the problem and deal with the conflict as a political one, we, Arabs and Jews, may find ourselves face to face with racism. The present circumstances are a breeding ground for racism which brought about disasters in the past, and will do so if it is left to grow.

AL QUDS
August 2

The Arab Summit Between Optimism and Pessimism

In two days the Arab summit will be convened amid expectations ranging between optimism and pessimism. The optimists are doing all they can to contribute to the success of the summit. The pessimists are trying to spread fear and panic. We are both optimists because the mere convening of the summit is a victory for Arab will for solidarity in the face of fragmentation. And we are both pessimists because we are afraid that the Arab leaders will be engaged in finding formulas only for their concluding statements.

Out of our optimism we demand the Arab summit to take clear and decisive stands on the current Arab situation. The decisions should be applicable without adversely affecting the national invariables.

AL FAJR
August 5

Peres' Government and the Decisions

The measures and decisions adopted by Peres' government are not really new to our people in the occupied territories. These measures are being taken today under the cover of dealing with the increasing operations against Israel. It is noticeable that these operations are carried out by non-PLO members, but by persons motivated by nationalist feelings. Therefore the tightening of these measures nowadays aims at forcing the Arabs out of their country, so that Israel could establish more settlements. But Israel knows well that nothing can force our people to leave their land. The only way for Israel is to end its occupation of Arab land.

AL MITHAQ
August 5

The Summit...?

Amid the talk about convening an Arab summit, one remark and two questions arise. The remark is that the Arab masses show no interest whatsoever in what is going on. This implies lack of confidence in the Arab leaders and their ability to do anything. The questions are: why do some Arabs support the summit, while others oppose it?

Here, we'd like to say that Syria, which leads opposition to the Arab summit under false and disgusting slogans, is really interested in blocking any Arab support that may be given to the PLO by the Arab summit. It also does not want to see an Arab summit that may sympathise with Iraq in its war with Iran. As for Algeria, the reason for its boycotting the summit is in its relations with Morocco. The Libyan stand is inexplicable.

On the other hand, the supporters of the Arab summit think it will patch up Arab differences. And this of course is ridiculous. So, the question remains: why an Arab summit?

The answer to this question is that the Arab summit may be an opportunity to stop the falling Arab position.

AL SHA'AB
August 6

The Bright Star Exercises

The joint exercises conducted every year between American forces and Egyptian and other Arab forces on Egyptian land have many objectives. They aim at training the American forces in warfare in the Middle East so as to intervene in the area if American and Western interests are in danger. The exercises indicate also the depth of the relation between the American imperialism and the Arab reactionaries. These exercises are therefore anti-Arab ones. In short, they are part of the conspiracy.

AL MITHAQ
August 6

Resistance to SLA Increases in South Lebanon

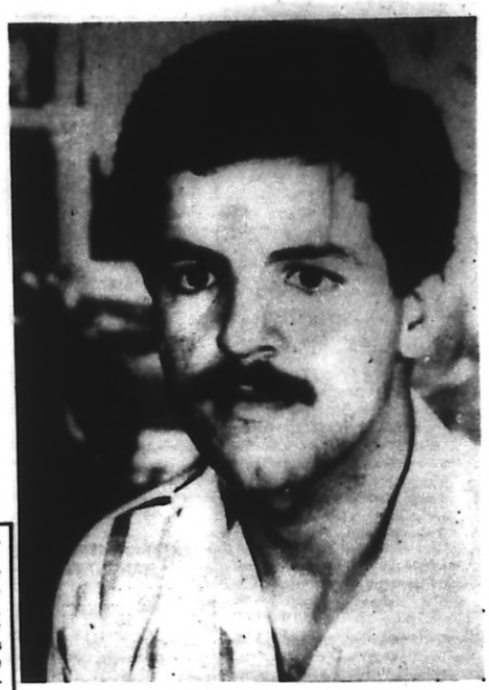
The most recent suicide attack occurred August 6 when a mule loaded with 150 kilogrammes of explosives exploded near SLA headquarters in Hasbaya in the Israeli-occupied south Lebanon. A 23-year-old Lebanese, Jamal Sati, was riding the mule when it exploded. Sati was instantly killed. Reports by Israelis said damage occurred to the building which also houses an Israeli military liaison office but no human casualties resulted.

The Communist Lebanese National Resistance Front (LNRF) claimed responsibility for the suicide attack saying the bomb destroyed the building. A statement by the Front issued in Beirut said Sati, a resident of Kamed al-Loz in south Lebanon, was the Communist Party's military leader in his village. It said Sati left a handwritten message reading: "My joy was capped by the decision that I carry out the mission."

Meanwile two Israeli soldiers were killed August 5 when their patrol was ambushed near the village of Majdal Salim in occupied south Lebanon. Two other soldiers were injured. Israel Radio, which reported the battle, said three members of the resistance group were killed in the exchange of fire and the rest got away. It said submachine guns, rocket-propelled grenades, hand grenades and a wireless were found near the bodies.

Israeli warplanes hit a base for the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command (PFLP-GC) in the Beka'a Valley in Lebanon August 8, Israel Radio reported. The radio claimed the raid was successful and that all planes returned safely to base. No more details were given.

The Israeli air raid occurred less than a week after another air attack on a base for the Syrian Nationalist Socialist Party (SNSP) in Shtoura, also in eastern Lebanon. Reports from Shtoura varied on the number of dead and wounded. The French Press Agency (AFP) said 15 were killed and 30 wounded, while SNSP sources reported that only 2 were killed and 4 wounded. The SNSP has taken responsibility for a score of suicide attacks on bases for Israeli soldiers and their South Lebanon Army (SLA) allies in south Lebanon.



23 year old Lebanese Jamal Sati who carried out a suicide attack at SLA troops while riding a mule August 6./AFP

Cabiret

Continued from page 1

appeal the order to the Israeli High Court. In the past, notably in the cases of West Bank mayors Fahd Qawasmi and Mohammed Milhem deported in 1980, such appeals have delayed the actual deportation. Security and government officials have called for changes in the law to allow for speedier deportations without appeal. The cabinet apparently decided not to alter existing procedures in light of the state prosecutor's promise to do everything in his power to speed up the legal proceedings in deportation cases.

The cabinet's "tough" stand was widely viewed as a response to escalating demands from Israeli settlers in the occupied territories and hawkish ministers that growing attacks on Israelis in the occupied territories be stopped. The decision to refer the death penalty issue to a committee was apparently intended to postpone a decision to a later time, while simultaneously appeasing both supporters and opponents of capital punishment. It is not clear whether the capital punishment under consideration would apply equally to both Jews who murder Arabs and Arabs who murder Jews, or only to the latter.

According to the Hebrew daily *Al Hamishmar* August 5, the cabinet meeting was conducted in a very unclear manner. During the meeting, Industry and Trade Minister Ariel Sharon (Likud) called for stepping up deportations and other measures, and for striking at what he called 'terrorists wherever they may be' — first and foremost in Jordan. He also called for expelling the Palestinian political prisoners who were released in the framework of the May 20 prisoner-exchange, for the government to deprive Palestinians living in Israel of their citizenship if caught engaging in hostile actions, and for not allowing Palestinian candidates Fayez Abu Rahmeh and Hanna Siniora to leave the country for talks in Amman.

Reacting to the Israeli reinstatement of harsh measures, elected Nablus Mayor Bassam Shaka'a said Israel had never eased its repressive measures since the occupation began in 1967. He said the recent meeting only indicates "an Israeli willingness to beef up efforts to liquidate nationalism in the occupied territories." Israeli politics, Shaka'a explained, "continue to contradict facts on the ground and therefore Israel adopts more oppressive measures" against the Palestinian population, hoping to change the political map of the area in its favour.

Jonathan Kuttab, director of the Ramallah-based Law in the Service of Man, told *Al Fajr* administrative detention is a "contradiction to the principle of the rule of law because it imposes punishment without charges on persons who may not have committed any offence." Kuttab, who is a practicing lawyer, said "Israel pretends there is judicial recourse but this is actually not true because the trial is held secretly." The individual who is held administratively, Kuttab added, will also be kept in solitary confinement for each six-month detention.

Arab Councils

Continued from page 1

meeting of the Committee of Israeli Local Councils. The Israeli committee has previously threatened to hand over the keys of their local councils to the Ministry of Interior because they also cannot function with such high deficits.

Hashem Mahamid said that the purpose of the protest was to make their voice heard in the country. He said he is convinced they achieved that. "We do not get a fraction of what Jewish councils do, and even the Jewish councils are suffering from deficits," he told *Al Fajr*. Mahamid did not rule out the possibility that employees of his municipality would go on hunger strike. "They haven't been paid since the al-Fitr feast [June 18], and the al-Adha feast is due soon," he said. When asked about additional funds the Um al-Fahm local council was supposed to get after receiving municipal status last March, Mahamid said the council has not received any additional funds. "In fact we have been given municipality status by the press only," he said.

Dialogue

Continued from page 11

BOULLATA — There is a definite link between the work of your two stages of development. But people may see, not only two related parts of your productive life, but also two sides of who you are.

ATTAR — I think there are two sides to each of us. To be creative is to be alone with yourself, however. It is an intensely personal experience, like writing a letter.

BOULLATA — In your earlier work, you presented pastoral nature, always crowned with date palms, with almost botanical fidelity, coloured by great imagination. A Westerner seeing those paintings would be reminded of the work of Henri Rousseau. But Arabs, viewing those date palms in the twilight that you painted cannot but be reminded of the verses of Badr Shakir al-Sayyab, the Iraqi poet who had so many references to date palms, Have you ever tried to paint a specific tree?

ATTAR — I could never paint the tree as the eye sees it. How would you measure it? What do you see in the tree? The tree that I like to paint is not the tree that you see.

BOULLATA — It is your own tree.

ATTAR — Yes. But to me the tree is a human being. I am not talking about the trees that are very delicate, but about the solid tree, with the roots and the muscles — and the darkness. ■

Great Times

Continued from page 10

and the establishment of the state and the return of millions of our brothers to the Land of Israel — a miracle the likes of which even the return-to-Zion in the days of the Second Temple cannot compare...

"All of us live in the hope that the state will ascend and become sanctified... but at the same time we must realise that the ascension to sanctity is made in stages and with each successive stage in this ascension, we must give thanks and be joyous. Therefore, even in the bleak hours, even at a time when it appears that there are those among us who are suffering injustice, even in hours of great excitement, we will be tested in regard to our faith in the greatness of the era, in its radiance, in its joy, and in rememberance of the great times the Blessed One allowed us to live and work in" (Rabbi Moshe Levinger, *Nekuda*, July 26, 1985).

On July 25, a Jerusalem court judge sentenced Rabbi Levinger to three months in prison suspended and a fine of IS200,000 for trespassing in an Arab home in Hebron and slapping one of the children there across the face.

These are truly great times! Especially when a paper like the *New York Times* can write "Israel's concern for justice for the Arabs under its administration is no mere magnanimity."

Three days before Levinger's trial, the members of the Gush Emunim underground were sentenced in the Jerusalem District Court. The terrorists were delighted with the verdict, which they took to be a vindication of their claim that a security vacuum existed in the occupied territories which forced them "to take the law into their own hands."

According to Judge Finkelman, "All the attacks of the underground came in the wake of serious terror attacks carried out by the Arab terrorist organisations against the Jews. The attack on the heads of the National Guidance Council was carried out 30 days after the murder of 6 of the defendants' friends near Beit Hadassah in Hebron. The attack on the Hebron Academy was carried out 30 days after the murder of Aharon Gross. And the attempt to bomb [five East Jerusalem] buses followed closely on fatal terrorist attacks on buses carrying Jews in the [pre-1967] borders [of Israel]" (quoted in *HaAretz*, July 23, 1985).

Of course, as the *New York Times* points out, "Israel's judicial arm declared private vengeance by Jews against Arabs to be terrorism and murder," but the trial, which at its inception threatened to expose the whole corrupt network on which the settlement movement is founded, ended by exposing the weakness of the Israeli courts. That their hollow victory in an East Jerusalem courtroom was lauded by the *New York Times* is just one more example of the great times we are living in, "an effort to add moral armour to Israel's military strength." ■

WEEKLY REVIEW

Mohammad Mousa Abdullah Abu Usba', 24, of Jebel Mukaber was shot by a collaborator in the midst of a quarrel, Abu Usba's uncle was also shot.

July 31, 1985

TOUBAS VICTIMS BURIED

Rashid Omar Abu Mutawe and Ahmad Mahmoud Mussaid, the two men from Toubas who were found dead in their charred car near Nablus earlier this week, were buried in their village. Israel Radio said relatives of the victims demonstrated during the funeral and hurled stones at the police station in Toubas.

BUS STONED NEAR RAMALLAH

An Israeli bus was pelted with stones as it passed the al-Am'ari refugee camp outside Ramallah. Israel Radio said a female passenger was slightly injured by flying glass when one of the bus windows was smashed.

GAZA YOUTHS JAILED

An Israeli military court in Gaza sentenced Shawkat Abu Safiyeh from al-Shate' to 2 years in prison and 1 year suspended on charges of membership in a Palestinian organisation and recruiting others. Nahed Abu Harb, of al-Nuseirat refugee camp, was sentenced by the court to 2 years in prison and a similar suspended sentence on charges of membership and illegal possession of weapons.

KUFR NI'MEH MAN JAILED

Isam Ahmad Jabei Khalifeh of Kufr Ni'meh in the Ramallah area was sentenced in the Ramallah military court to 10 months in prison and 14 months suspended on charges of membership in a Palestinian organisation.

MORE BOMBS IN JERUSALEM

A bomb was discovered and safely dismantled in the Armon Hanatziv neighbourhood in West Jerusalem, police said. The bomb, which was placed on a sidewalk near a supermarket was found by a policeman.

KHAN YOUNIS MAN JAILED

An Israeli military court in Gaza sentenced Wahid Mohammed al-Batsh, 26, of Khan Younis, to 15 months in prison on charges of weapons training and membership in a Palestinian organisation.

August 1, 1985

SETTLERS TRY TO SEIZE 10 BUILDINGS

Israeli settlers are trying to seize 10 buildings belonging to the Khan Younis municipality. Subhi al-Qidra, a resident of Khan Younis who has rented the buildings since 1974, petitioned the Israeli High Court against the settlers' repeated attempts.

QATTANAH TRAVEL BAN LIFTED

Israeli military authorities lifted a travel ban imposed on residents of the village of Qattanah, north of Jerusalem, two weeks ago.

ARBOUNA DECLARED A CLOSED MILITARY ZONE

The village of Arbouna in the Jenin district has been declared a closed military zone following threats by racist MK Meir Kahane (Kach) and his supporters that they will enter the village to erect a monument for two Israeli teachers allegedly killed by 3 youths from the village. Israeli soldiers set up roadblocks at all entrances leading to the village and no non-residents are allowed in.

2 GAZA LAWYERS JAILED

An Israeli military court in Gaza sentenced lawyer Mohammed al-Ashram, 25, of Gaza, to 8 months in prison on charges of membership in a Palestinian organisation and contacting an illegal organisation. The court also sentenced lawyer Ghazi Abu Zaideh, 25, from Jabalya refugee camp to 4 months in prison on identical charges.

MILITARY COMMITTEE TURNS DOWN APPEAL

The Israeli Military Objections Committee in Ramallah rejected a petition by Mohammed Abd al-Salam al-Nabahin of Ta'amreh village against the confiscation of his 12-dunum plot near Bethlehem. Nabahin is now considering taking his case to the Israeli High Court.

BETHLEHEM WORKERS HARASSED

Three Israeli army officers raided the headquarters of the Federation of Public Institutions Workers in Bethlehem and harassed workers by writing down their names and ID numbers.

August 2, 1985

LAWYER'S CAR TORCHED

Arsonists set fire to the car of lawyer Yusef Zaki Aridi of Jenin. The fire gutted the front part of the car. Police are investigating.

August 4, 1985

40 ARABS HELD IN KHDAIRA

Israeli police detained 40 Arabs after a bomb was found and safely dismantled at a bus stop in the town of Khdaira (Hadera). Israel Radio said the bomb was discovered by a passer-by who summoned the police. All those who were detained were either workers or youths who happened to be in the area, the radio report said.

JENIN TRAVEL BAN LIFTED

Israeli authorities permitted residents of the West Bank town of Jenin to travel to Jordan via Damyan Bridge after a two-week ban.

SETTLERS IGNORE COURT ORDER

Israeli tractors are currently working on lands owned by residents of the village of al-Nabi Saleh near Ramallah in defiance of court orders. Settlers from the neighbouring settlement of Halmish have also been working on the land, estimated at 100 dunums.

BUS ATTACKED IN JERUSALEM

A petrol bomb was thrown last night at an Israeli bus as it drove through the village of al-Azzariya near Jerusalem, Israel TV reported. No damages or injuries were reported.

5 MONTHS FOR GRAFFITI

An Israeli military court in Nablus sentenced Amjad Ahmad Abideh and Kifah Mutlaq Silawi from Jenin to 5 months in prison and a IS75,000 fine on charges of sabotaging tools in an Israeli settlement and painting graffiti on walls.

ARBOUNA VILLAGERS FLEE

About half of the residents of Arbouna in the Jenin district fled the village following the detention of three local youths on suspicion of killing two Israeli teachers from Afula. Arbouna (pop. 500), was threatened by Jewish extremists following the discovery of the two teachers' bodies.

CUSTOMS RAID

Israeli customs officials and police raided several money-changers in East Jerusalem and confiscated huge sums of foreign currency.

4 TULKARM MEN SENTENCED

An Israeli military court in Nablus sentenced 4 youths from Tulkarm to 2 months in prison, 6 months suspended and a IS300,000 fine on security charges. They are: Hisham Hassan Sariyeh, Naser Ahmad Abd al-Qader Abu Khater, Basel Mustafa Salameh and Abd al-Fattah Ahmad Ali al-Kam.

August 5, 1985

STONES, ROADBLOCKS NEAR REFUGEE CAMPS

An Israeli bus was stoned as it passed the Jalazon refugee camp on the Ramallah-Nablus road, and one of its windows was smashed, Israel Radio reported. The driver opened fire into the air. Israeli troops sealed off the area and detained three youths, the radio report said.

In another incident, unidentified persons burned tyres and erected makeshift roadblocks on the road leading to the town of Huwwarah near Nablus. Troops arrived at the scene and removed the tyres and rocks. No arrests were reported.

Meanwile, the refugee camp of Ein Beit al-Ma' in the Nablus district was put under curfew after a petrol-bomb attack on a border police patrol in the camp August 4. Two policemen were reportedly injured in the attack.

ORDER NISI

The Israeli High Court issued an order *nisi* forbidding the commander of the Israeli army forces in the Gaza Strip to harass Subhi Malahi al-Kadrah of Khan Younis and ordering him to continue working in his cafe and swimming pool on the Khan Younis beach. The court also ordered the Israeli amy officer to see to it that Jewish settlers do not harass Kadrah until a three-judge panel looks into the case.

JERUSALEMITE GETS 15 MONTHS

An Israeli military court sentenced Kamel Mustafa al-Basha of Jerusalem to 15 months in prison on charges of membership in a Palestinian organisation. Kamel was detained 2 months ago.

August 6, 1985

4 KIDS INJURED BY GRENADE

Four Palestinian children from the village of Burin in the Nablus district were injured when

an old hand grenade they were playing with exploded, Israel Radio reported. The 4 were taken to Rafidya Hospital in Nablus, ıe radio said.

SAMU' LAND GRABBED

The director of the Israeli epartment of state property ntends to confiscate a 600-unum plot owned by Issa al-Haj \bed Rabbo al-Salamin from the illage of Samu'. Israeli authorities have given the owner one nonth to appeal the decision.

CAR FIRED UPON NEAR GAZA

Israeli soldiers manning a oadblock at an entrance to Gaza pened fire on an Arab vehicle laiming the driver defied orders o halt at the roadblock, Israel Radio said. The car collided nead-on with another car and several people were injured, the radio report said. No further details were given.

TRAIN STONED

An Israeli train was stoned near the village of Battir, Israel Radio said. One passenger was injured when a window was smashed by a flying stone.

ORDER NISI

The Israeli High Court issued an order *nisi* forbidding Israeli military authorities to deport freed prisoner Abd al-Majid Raddad of Tulkarm until the court reviews his case.

3 JENIN YOUTHS JAILED

An Israeli military court in Nablus sentenced 3 youths from Jenin to various prison terms on charges of making and training with molotov cocktails. The 3 are: Jamal Faris, 3 years in prison and 1 year suspended; Mohammed Khanfar, 2.5 years in prison and 1.5 years suspended; and Ala' Abed, 8 months in prison and 10 months suspended.

A military truck over turned a parked car belonging to a Ramallah resident August 7./AO photo.

5 YEARS FOR MEMBERSHIP

An Israeli military court in Ramallah sentenced Jamal Faris Abu Asbeh from Silet al-Daher to 5 years in prison and 3 years suspended on charges of membership in a Palestinian organisation, attempting to assassinate a suspected collaborator and possession of weapons.

Shafa Amr

Continued from page 16

from getting involved in politics," he said.

As for the few positions in government-run institutions such as government schools, one must be attached to the Israeli system, Samniyeh charged. He explained that many educated youths in Shafa Amr cannot find teaching jobs or other positions close to their chosen professions. Many youths with a college education are therefore obliged to take jobs in construction and other manual labour.

Shafa Amr is like many other Arab towns in that there are great needs in education. The city has eight schools, including one secondary school which offers evening classes to adult workers. The muncipality cultural department director, Ibrahim Nimr Hussein, admitted that the city still has a long way to go in this field. He explained that they need to build between 30 to 40 classrooms to replace rented rooms in various parts of the city. He said funds were still unavailable for that.

Hussein also told *Al Fajr* that Shafa Amr still lacks a complete sewage network. The municipality prepared the blueprints for a sewage system, but they do not have sufficient funds to carry out the project.

Shafa Amr residents realise that only through persistent struggle against discrimination will they achieve progress. They know that they have a long way to go before the days of Dhaher al-Umar and Shafa Amr's ancient prestige are restored. The municipal council now has plans to restore the Dhaher al-Umar's castle and to convert it into a special museum, where exhibits of the city's heritage will be on display. The restoration of the castle may be the start of a new era for Shafa Amr and for the Arab sector in general. ■

Abu Lughod

Continued from page 8&9

sured "national strategy" for the West Bank and Gaza in terms of the actual eviction of the occupier from the West Bank and Gaza. To get to the point where, in fact, Israel is not only paying a higher price to continue its occupation, but also forfeiting what remains of its presumed image as a democratic state. I think they will forfeit this. Then I think the Israeli public itself, as in Lebanon, will be much more moved to pressure for ending the occupation. Then they will insist that the government must come to terms with the Palestinians of the West Bank and Gaza, and withdraw.

Q: And so, the final outcome would be a democratic Palestinian state?

A: Absolutely. I think a Palestinian state is going to come about in one of two ways. One is by the forces of national liberation, which is armed struggle, more wars, until you actually defeat your opponent. That is, you triumph both politically and morally among your own people and you make it possible for the land to change hands, and so you create that state. That's what the Algerians did. But a state can also come about as the result of an agreement — an agreement that is the outcome of a recognition that the contending forces are such that an alternative outcome is going to be to the total disadvantage of one party. At that point in time there will be pressure for an agreement that will be reached through an international conference, and that will have a consensus of all of the powers whose security and interests could be threatened by the escalation of the fight between the Arabs and the Israelis behind it. And the price will be a Palestinian state.

Now, a Palestinian state that emerges from this kind of solution will obviously be less than the totality of Palestine, and it will be a conditioned state, the way Austria is today and Belgium was.

I believe that ultimately, in the very distant future, Palestine will be one state. It's too small an area; the interests of both people would in fact be better served in the context of a unitary state. But, that does not need to happen by only one means, it could happen by any number of different ways. In my judgment, what I am seeing within the Israeli public is a polarisation of opinion. You have some obviously visible extremist groups who are being driven into more Nazi-like attitudes and actions; opposed to these groups is a rise in the democratic forces who are intensifying the commitment to some kind of peace that would meet some of the needs of the Palestinians for an independent Palestinian state.

Q: Do you foresee working with these Israeli peace-oriented groups?

A: If they are committed to the rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination, why not? I think it would be a major triumph for the Palestinian people, in fact, to have a great deal of support among the Israeli Jews, the way Algerians had tremendous support among the French, and the Vietnamese among the Americans. These are the principal adversaries, and if the adversaries' monolithic unity is transformed and broken so that you create moral contradiction within its ranks, then you win support from within that society. Therefore, I think it's very important for us, so long as we clarify what we want, to seek support from every corner of the world, and very specifically among the Israeli Jewish people, so that they are sure that they have a future in the democratic system that will be established in Palestine. ■

Education

Continued from page 7

curriculum did not achieve its goal, and that the Palestinian students did not want to sit for *bagrut* and *tawjihi* exams at the same time.

Two years of these curricula proved them to be unproductive. Al-Namari's study summed up the effects on students as follows:

1. The rate of failures in both the *tawjihi* and *bagrut* exams was shocking, and even those who passed the exam did not receive high enough marks to get into universities.

2. It was proved that the unified curriculum is too much for one part of students while it falls short with regard to the other part, which contradicts the theory of education and burdens the students.

3. The students' efforts were devoted to two curricula and to studying unnecessary materials which weakened their ability to pass the exams and get high marks.

4. One hundred students withrew from al-Rashidiyya school at the beginning of the 1973-74 academic year, because of the curriculum.

5. The curriculum placed a financial burden on the shoulders of the students as they were forced to buy text books for two curricula.

Unified Curriculum Dropped

In view of the poor performance of the unified curriculum, the pressure exerted on Israeli education officials by Arab educators and the embarrassment caused by the sharp drop of students in government schools, the Israeli Education Ministry backed down on its plan in primary and secondary schools in 1976, after a poll was conducted among the students' parents. The poll showed that 3033 parents favoured the Jordanian curriculum while only 31 favoured the Israeli curriculum.

But the Israeli Education Ministry refused to implement the Jordanian curriculum in elementary schools. Only after five years of struggle and pressures from Palestinian educators did the Israeli Ministry of Education finally decide to reinstate the Jordanian curriculum.

The principal of al-Sawahri school in East Jerusalem sent a memorandum to the general director of the Israeli Education Ministry on behalf of the government elementary schools of East Jerusalem, asking for the Jordanian curriculum to be reinstated. But the demand fell on deaf ears. As things in the government elementary schools went from bad to worse, however, and as pressure from Palestinian educators mounted, the Israelis were forced to reconsider the demand. For example, in 1980 the Islamic *waqf* opened a new school in al-Thowri, the most densely populated neighbourhood in East Jerusalem, and an overwhelming number of students at the government al-Khaldi school moved to the new private one. The number of students at al-Khaldi consequently dropped from 700 to 170.

The belated agreement of the Israeli authorities to return the Jordanian curriculum came in a letter to Palestinian education inspectors on March 31, 1981, which ordered that the Jordanian curriculum be implemented in elementary schools starting from September 1, 1981, on the condition that Hebrew language became part of the curriculum. ■

Shafa Amr Struggles in the Shadow of Past Glory

The fortress of Dhaher al-Umar al-Zaidani, built during his rebellion against the Ottoman empire in 1770. Today, the citadel is the symbol of Shafa Amr.

by Sami al-Aboudi

An established municipal council celebrating its seventy-fifth year in operation is barely news in most countries. But when the council serves a city of Palestinian Arabs inside Israel the celebration takes on entirely new meaning – pride in one's heritage in the midst of attempts to eradicate it, perseverance in the face of adversity, renewed focus on the daily problems of a people trapped inside a dangerous political circle. This then is Shafa Amr in celebration of 75 years of uninterrupted council leadership and the will to survive.

"Although it is the symbol of our city, we carry very bitter memories from the Shafa Amr Castle," said Ahmad Hamdi, secretary of the Shafa Amr branch of the Israeli Communist Party. Driving around the grey stone fortress, which for two centuries served to protect the city, he said, "I was held many times inside," adding quickly, "and beaten up and harassed each time."

Until 1980 the famous Shafa Amr Castle – also known as Dhaher al-Umar fortress – served as Israeli police headquarters and lockup. Many youths from the Israeli Communist Party, the Abna' al Balad Movement and often individual nationalists were rounded up and held there following demonstrations or protest activities in the area. Some were simply summoned regularly for interrogation and intimidation.

The castle, built on a hilltop overlooking surrounding areas, is once again under municipal council jurisdiction and there are sufficient signs that the castle and Shafa Amr itself are struggling to regain their leadership position in the national fight. Two weeks ago the Shafa Amr municipality, which retrieved the castle from Israeli authorities in 1980, began in the fortress a three-month-long programme of intermittent festivities in celebration of the 75th anniversary of the establishment of the municipal council. More than 2000 residents crowded onto the castle's second floor July 21 for the first time since 1948 to watch 13 dance troupes, including one from the West Bank, compete in the first popular dancing festival.

Shafa Amr's festival programme

Now that the symbol of Shafa Amr is once again in use, the town itself is looking towards the future for better ways to deal with the problems of today. Shafa Amr is built on a small hilltop at the southern edge of the Acre plain, about 30 kilometres east of Haifa. The old city of grey, stone houses with Arab-style domed roofs is built around the 200-year-old Dhaher al-Umar fortress, the bulk of which still stands today. Under Dhaher al-Umar al-Zaidani and his son Othman the castle was the centre of a rebellion against Turkish rule, at the second half of the eighteenth century. Under al-Zaidani Shafa Amr and the entire Galilee region witnessed great progress and became a centre for trade in the area.

More than 23,000 Muslims, Christians, and Druze live in Shafa Amr. The sectarian divisions this creates in terms of separate neighbourhoods, schools and social clubs never poses a problem for residents when it comes to rallying to their country's cause. On the contrary, residents have always clung together to fight against anti-Arab discrimination practised by Israel since 1948, said Hamdi. Hamdi pointed out that Shafa Amr residents joined hands in the struggle against land confiscations in the 1950s to the mid 1970s. The first spark of Land Day protest erupted in Shafa Amr on March 25, 1976 when the Committee of Arab Local Councils' meeting in the city failed to make a united decision to fight Israeli land grabbing in Sakhnin, Arrabeh and other nearby villages. As a result, demonstrations erupted in Shafa Amr and spread from there to the rest of the Arab villages in the Galilee and Triangle.

Several residents are critical, however, of the way Israeli authorities, and to some extent a few city residents, try to exploit sectarian divisions in Shafa Amr. Ali Samniyeh, an activist from the Abna' al-Balad Movement, which is devoted to the Palestinian people's right to self-determination, was particularly critical of the sectarian nature of some candidate lists running for office in the municipal council elections. He was equally critical of the sectarian clubs and other sectarian institutions in the city. Ibrahim Nimr Hussein, the city's veteran mayor, discounts talk of substantial sectarian prejudice in Shafa Amr. "Our city can be regarded as an example of sectarian coexistence," he said.

One thing all city residents are participating in is the anniversary celebration at the castle. Omar Malak, director of the cultural department in the municipality, told *Al Fajr* that members of the municipal council and a number of popular organisations chose the castle as stage for the celebrations because they wanted to show the Israeli authorities that Shafa Amr can put such an important historical site to good use.

Malak outlined for *Al Fajr* the three-month-long programme prepared by the celebrations committee. There will be instrumental music, singing, and theatre festivals, in addition to a heritage exhibit. The cultural subcommittee also prepared a long schedule of forums dealing with several issues vital to Palestinians inside Israel including Arab Youth and Unemployment, the Condition of Education in the Arab Sector in Israel, and the Role of the Arab Local Councils among others. They are also collecting documents which will be published in a book dealing with the history of Shafa Amr. In addition they requested that Israeli authorities issue a special stamp commemorating the occasion. Malak said the authorities had not replied to their requests, but he sees no reason why they would reject it. "They commemorate the establishment of Tel Aviv," he said. "Why wouldn't they commemorate our anniversary?"

Other voluntary work and sports activities are planned within the celebration which is scheduled to end with a full week of activities October 15 through 21.

Shafa Amr's celebration is more of a symbolic demonstration than anything. It is intended to show Arab residents' determination to fight against the continuing discrimination against Arab local councils by the Israeli government. It coincides with a staunch protest campaign by the Arab local councils, particularly the Regional Committee of Arab Local Councils, which is headed by Shafa Amr Mayor Ibrahim Nimr Hussein. The councils are protesting the Israeli authorities' refusal to provide sufficient funds to cover their daily expenses. "We do not have money to even pay our employees and workers," said Hussein. Some local councils have not paid their employees since June of this year. Last week, all Arab local councils went on a one-day warning strike and threatened to further escalate their protest if they are not provided with sufficient funds.

Shafa Amr has suffered and fought against such discrimination since the establishment of Israel in 1948. The city, which was once regarded as second only to Toubas in the West Bank as the largest town in Palestine, has lost most of its land to confiscation by Israeli authorities. Hussein told *Al Fajr* that the city's land has dwindled from 140,000 dunums to less than 40,000. The city, which stretches down a hillside spread in all directions, has very little space with which to expand. Within 10 years, city officials and residents say there will be no room left for expansion.

The loss of land also created another problem for Shafa Amr. Rural residents who once farmed their lands were forced to work in the many factories in neighbouring Haifa. Shafa Amr residents are said to be unique among Arab towns in that they are by and large skilled labourers. "If they decide to go on strike, Haifa's industry will shut down," said Hamdi, a member of the city's labour council.

Still the proud city of Dhaher al-Umar and his fortress is like the rest of the Arab villages and towns in Israel – they have no local industry. And with the current economic recession in Israel, unemployment is soaring among the city's residents. Ali Samniyeh, 37, who until placed under town arrest early in July worked in a Haifa printing shop, told *Al Fajr* he cannot find work in Shafa Amr, where he is obliged to remain around the clock. "There are no jobs available at all in Shafa Amr," he said. He explained that the city's industrial zone, which the municipality struggled long to establish, now contains very few small mechanic shops and cement block factories.

The nearly empty 200-dunum industrial area is however still regarded a big achievement for the city. Most Arab towns and villages do not have a defined and recognised industrial area eligible to receive government loans and grants. The Shafa Amr industrial zone has been designated by the authorities as Area B, making investors eligible for grants worth about 20 percent of their investment. The rest can be obtained in loans, provided that investors offer financial guarantees.

Samniyeh, who is also an activist in the Abna' al-Balad Movement, said the Israelis have vested interest in keeping Arab villages without industry, and consequently without jobs. He explained that Arab workers must travel daily long distances to work, thus spending between 10-12 hours a day in time on the job and travelling to it. "This way they make people constantly run after their daily bread, and thus they keep them

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